

MAY 28, 2018

# TIME

## HOW MY GENERATION BROKE AMERICA

BY STEVEN BRILL

PLUS

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS  
RESHAPING THE WORLD



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Pop star Ariana Grande, with her dog Toulouse, on April 10 in Beverly Hills, Calif.

Photograph by Jimmy Marble for TIME

ON THE COVER:  
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# Conversation



## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

**CAN BAD MEN CHANGE?** Readers of Eliana Dockterman's May 21 cover story on sex-offender therapy answered the headline's question in a variety of ways. "A better question might be 'Can men who do bad things stop doing them?'" For many the answer is yes," wrote Brooklyn social worker Steve Ashkinazy. But David Jackson, a therapist in Excelsior Springs, Mo., cautioned against seeing that work as the teaching of empathy, arguing that "one person's empathy does not necessarily equal another's." Others had less hope that change is possible. "Isolation is one of the safest bets" for dealing with offenders, wrote Robin Robar of Paradise, Calif., while Twitter user @wordlass1 tweeted, "More important: would any of you be willing to take that chance?"

**'Bad men can change. But it's their own job. No one else's!!!'**

MIRANDA LEIGH WADE,  
Telford, Tenn.

**LATINX** Katy Steinmetz's April 16 piece on the gender-neutral pronoun Latinx—an alternative to Latino or Latina—provided proof that such terms "CAN catch on," tweeted PwC's U.S. chief diversity and inclusion officer Mike Dillon. However, Priscilla Marsh of Alexandria, Va., who is

from Puerto Rico, argued that the idea is an Anglo "imposition" on the gendered Spanish language. And Keith West of Chicago found the word exclusive in its own way. "There already is a term for someone who wishes to be a part of mainstream culture in the United States," he wrote. "That term is American."

**'I had no idea about Latinx. It's real news! ... It reminds one of the gentle "y'all" and "you all," the classic inclusion.'**

RYAN OSBORNE,  
Hesperus, Colo.

**NEXT GENERATION LEADERS** TIME and Rolex have partnered to present a new class of Next Generation Leaders who are blazing trails in art, activism, sports and entertainment. This group of emerging stars ranges from the Grammy Award-winning pop singer the Weeknd (*bottom*) to Adwoa Aboah (*top*), a fashion model whose battle with depression led her to start the support group Gurls Talk. Find out more in this issue (*page 40*), and see their video profiles—plus the list of past honorees—at [time.com/nextgenleaders](http://time.com/nextgenleaders)



**DEAR EVAN HANSEN** At a May 10 event at TIME's New York City headquarters, cast members from the Tony Award-winning Broadway musical, which deals with depression in teens, joined experts to discuss America's youth mental-health crisis. Watch a recap at [time.com/evan-hansen](http://time.com/evan-hansen)



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**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT** ▶ Because of an editing error, *playoff berth* was misspelled in the infographic key for "The LeBron vs. Michael Debate Just Got Real" (May 21).

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# For the Record

**'I posted the video just for my safety.'**

**LOLADE SIYONBOLA**, graduate student at Yale University, on why she chose to broadcast via Facebook Live an encounter with police officers that began when a white student reported Siyonbola, who is black, for napping in a common room

**'IF THE U.S. IS TRYING TO DRIVE US INTO A CORNER TO FORCE OUR UNILATERAL NUCLEAR ABANDONMENT, WE WILL NO LONGER BE INTERESTED IN SUCH DIALOGUE.'**

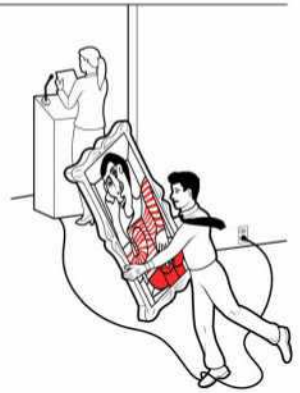
**KIM KYE GWAN**, North Korean first vice minister of foreign affairs, threatening to call off a planned summit with U.S. President Donald Trump, in a statement broadcast on state media on May 16

**'IF YOU'RE NOT ASKING GUYS TO WEAR HEELS AND A DRESS, THEN YOU CAN'T ASK ME EITHER.'**

**KRISTEN STEWART**, actor, on why she protested a no-flats convention by walking barefoot on the red carpet at the 2018 Cannes Film Festival

**'From one cantankerous senator to another, sending my prayers & best wishes to @SenatorReid as he recovers from a successful surgery.'**

**JOHN MCCAIN**, U.S. Senator (R., Ariz.), who is being treated for brain cancer, tweeting well-wishes to Harry Reid, Nevada Democrat and former Senate majority leader, who recently underwent surgery for pancreatic cancer



**\$70 MILLION**

Value of *Le Marin*, a 1943 painting by Pablo Picasso, **which was accidentally damaged** at Christie's during preparation for a sale

**Robo-callers**  
FCC fines Florida man \$120 million—its largest penalty ever—for spoofed robocalls



**Robo-copters**  
NASA announces its plan to send a robotic mini-helicopter to explore Mars

**'I no longer want to continue life, and I'm happy to have a chance tomorrow to end it.'**

**DAVID GOODALL**, 104-year-old Australian scientist and right-to-die advocate, at a news conference a day before he ended his life in Basel, Switzerland, where assisted suicide is not illegal

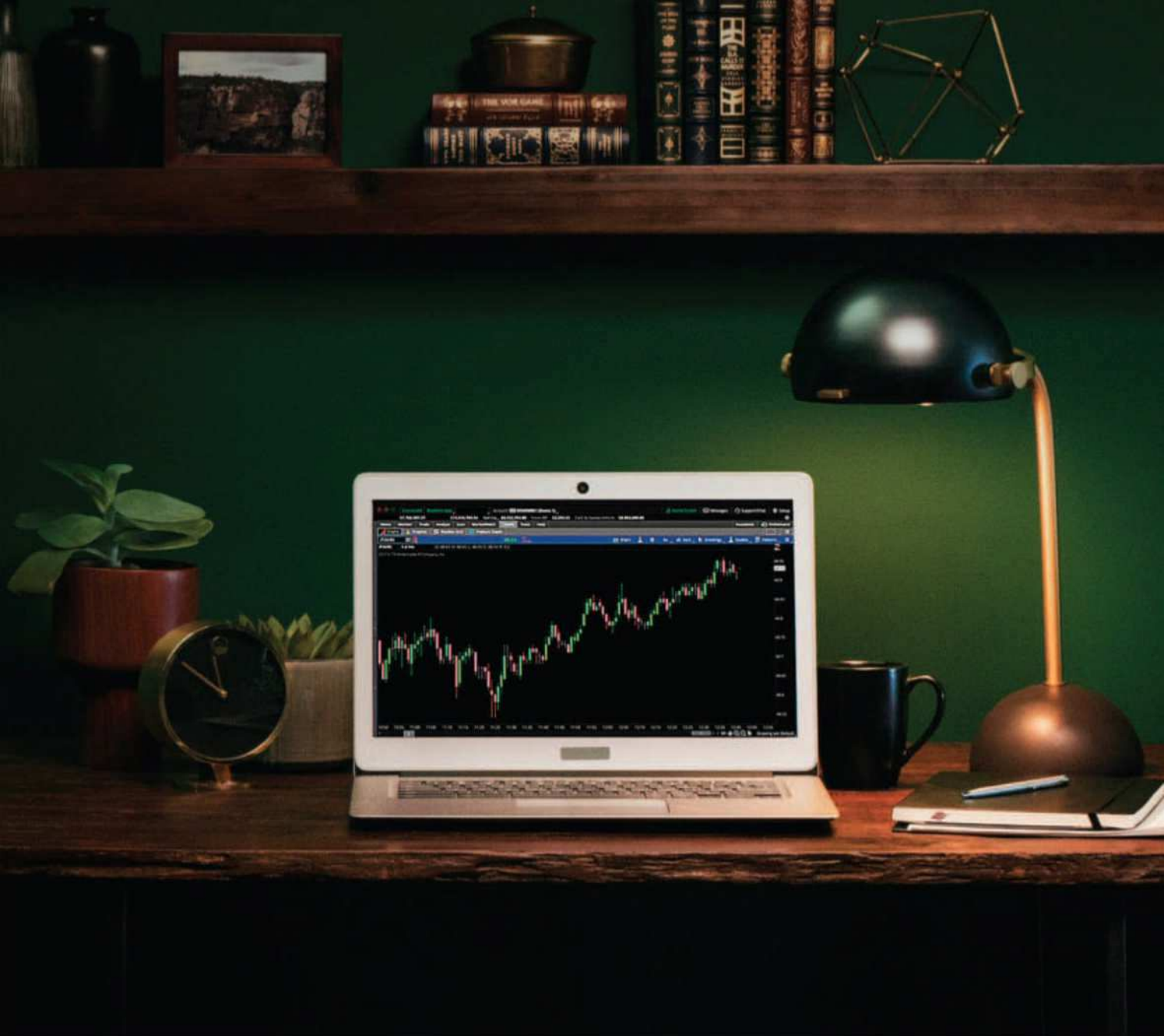
**2020**

Year by which California will require almost all **new homes** to be built with **solar panels**



**200**

Approximate number of **apps suspended by Facebook** so far, as part of an ongoing internal audit of how third parties use data available through the site



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# The Brief

## THE BULLY PULPIT

President Trump  
is expected to  
campaign hard  
this year to boost  
Republican turnout



## INSIDE

WHAT TO KNOW ABOUT  
IRELAND'S MILESTONE  
VOTE ON ABORTION

POSTCARD FROM  
MALAYSIA: A NATION PUTS A  
NONAGENARIAN BACK IN POWER

ASTRONAUT SCOTT KELLY  
ON THE IMPORTANCE  
OF TOM WOLFE

## POLITICS

# Trump plans aggressive return to campaign trail

By Brian Bennett/Elkhart, Ind.

**D**ONALD TRUMP WAS ABOUT HALFWAY through a campaign rally in Elkhart, Ind., on May 10 when he called Republican Senate nominee Mike Braun to the stage of the packed gymnasium. After the businessman praised the President, Trump lit into Braun's opponent, Democratic Senator Joe Donnelly, with characteristic ferocity. "Sleeping Joe and the Democrats," Trump said, would raise the crowd's taxes, destroy their jobs and erode U.S. borders. "You can send a really incredible swamp person back to the Senate like Joe Donnelly," he told them, "or you can send us Republicans like Mike Braun to drain the swamp."

It was a preview of what is shaping up to be a long, hot summer of fiery campaigning by Trump. As Republicans try to stave off a Democratic takeover of Congress, President Trump plans to throw himself into the fray, flying to rallies as often as twice a week by the end of the summer to slam Democratic candidates, according to two White House advisers. Aides believe the President will help raise the profile of local Republicans, and party strategists have set their sights on Senate and House races in 10 states that Trump won by large margins. Trump will target Democrats like Donnelly in Indiana and Senator Jon Tester in Montana, whom Trump has attacked for helping kill the nomination of White House physician Ronny Jackson to become Secretary of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The plan has produced mixed results so far. Trump's support for Roy Moore, a former judge who was accused of sexual misconduct with minors, didn't stop Moore from losing the Senate race in deep-red Alabama last December. Trump campaigned for Republican Rick Saccone during Pennsylvania's special congressional election earlier this year, but it wasn't enough to defeat Democrat Conor Lamb on March 13 in a district the President won in 2016 by 20 points. Some Republican strategists worry that sending Trump into local contests could backfire, further mobilizing Democratic voters in key races.

The odds are already stacked against the GOP in November. Democrats need to fix 24 seats to retake control of the House, and historically a President's party loses an average of 30 seats in the midterm, plus four Senate seats. The damage could be even greater

this year. Presidents with an approval rating below 50%—Trump's currently sits at around 43%—fare much worse than their peers, according to data from Gallup. But the Republican Party believes Trump can break the pattern. "There's no one better to turn out our Republican base than President Trump," says Cassie Smedile, a spokeswoman for the Republican National Committee.

**DEPLOYING A COMMANDER IN CHIEF** to the campaign trail is not exactly groundbreaking. But certain rules of decorum have traditionally applied, experts say. "Earlier Presidents have thought that is just part of presidential dignity," says Michael Beschloss, a presidential historian. "You don't get into the mud in a state or a district election." One notable exception was former President Richard Nixon. Hoping to boost the number of GOP seats in the Democrat-held Congress, Nixon campaigned aggressively during the 1970 midterms, giving a famously divisive law-and-order speech after protesters threw rocks at his motorcade in San Jose, Calif. The strategy didn't work: Republicans lost 12 seats in the House that year.

Trump plans to emphasize immigration issues this summer and fall, both in Washington and on the campaign trail. He'll campaign for more deportation officers and detention beds, according to a senior Administration official, as well as funding for his promised border wall in the spending deal that Congress has to pass before Sept. 30. The White House believes a last-minute budget fight over border security—even at the risk of a government shutdown—will electrify GOP voters.

But the centerpiece of the strategy is simply to put Trump in front of voters and let him loose. The result will be familiar to those who remember 2016. In Elkhart, an RV-manufacturing town near the Michigan border, the President cycled through hot-button issues like a stand-up comic workshopping laugh lines. He touted his moves to ditch the Iran deal, open the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem and meet with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un. "Joe Donnelly will do whatever Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi tell him to do," the President said. In truth, Donnelly has voted with Trump more than half the time, unusual for a Democrat; he was among just three Democrats casting a ballot in favor of the President's immigration proposal, which failed. But that's Donnelly's case to make. "We have the worst immigration laws in the history of mankind. We're slowly getting them changed. We want to make it quick," Trump said, before pivoting to the point. "So give me some reinforcements, please."

**'There's no one better to turn out our Republican base than President Trump.'**

CASSIE SMEDILE,  
GOP spokeswoman







Activists on both sides of the abortion debate have held rallies in Ireland ahead of the May 25 vote

#### THE BULLETIN

## Ireland weighs repealing abortion ban in a landmark referendum

ON MAY 25, THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND will vote in a landmark referendum on the eighth amendment of the country's constitution, which effectively outlaws abortion. Prime Minister Leo Varadkar, 39, announced the referendum three months after becoming the country's youngest leader in history. While Ireland has taken some socially progressive steps in recent years, including legalizing same-sex marriage in 2015, the abortion issue remains divisive in the predominantly Catholic country.

**RESTRICTIVE REPUBLIC** Ireland's abortion laws are among the world's most restrictive. The eighth amendment, passed in 1983, gives an unborn fetus a right to life equal to that of its pregnant mother. Women can face a 14-year prison sentence for having an abortion, even in cases of rape or nonviable pregnancies. From 2010 to 2015, 25,000 Irish women traveled to England and Wales to terminate pregnancies.

**INCREMENTAL CHANGE** A campaign to liberalize abortion laws gathered momentum

in 2012, when 31-year-old dentist Savita Halappanavar died in a Galway hospital after being refused an abortion during a miscarriage. In 2013, abortion became possible in cases where the mother's life is in immediate danger. Varadkar's government favors further liberalizing the law, and if the repeal passes, his government hopes to pass legislation legalizing abortion in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. Some abortion-rights activists believe the law should go further, which Varadkar has said is unlikely.

**CONTENTIOUS ISSUE** Ireland only fully legalized divorce and contraception as recently as the 1990s, and the vote in May is set to be close. Rallies to repeal the ban have been held in cities across Europe, while a "Save the Eighth" demonstration in Dublin attracted tens of thousands of people in March. A recent poll found that 47% of voters are in favor of repealing the ban, while 28% would leave it in place; others are undecided or abstaining. Whatever the result, it is unlikely to signal the end of the debate—for either side.

—KATE SAMUELSON

#### NEWS TICKER

### WHO urges the end of trans fats

The World Health Organization urged governments to **eliminate trans fats from global food supplies by 2023** and released a wide-ranging plan for how to get there. The agency estimates that the artificial fats—often found in baked and processed foods—lead to half a million deaths from heart disease every year.

### First Lady has kidney surgery

First Lady Melania Trump underwent kidney surgery on May 14 to treat what the White House called a **"benign kidney condition."** The procedure was successful, and there were no complications, according to her communications director.

### China map causes trouble for the Gap

Clothing retailer the Gap apologized over a **T-shirt depicting a map of China that left out Taiwan** and other Chinese-claimed territories. Hundreds complained after an image of the shirt, on sale in Canada, was posted to the Chinese social-media network Weibo. The company said it respects China's "territorial integrity."

## NEWS TICKER

### Salmonella prompts mass egg recall

Nearly three dozen people in nine U.S. states have been sickened by a salmonella outbreak that led to a **recall of more than 200 million eggs in April**. The FDA found that the North Carolina facility responsible had failed to address a rodent infestation.

### Burundi vote stokes violence

Violence escalated in Burundi ahead of a **controversial referendum on extending presidential terms**, which could allow President Pierre Nkurunziza, who has been in power since 2005, to rule until 2034. A crackdown on political opposition has led to widespread allegations of human-rights abuses.

### Trans prisoner protections rolled back

The Bureau of Prisons on May 11 reversed Obama-era rules, aimed at curbing sexual abuse and assault within prisons, that had **allowed transgender inmates to use facilities that match their gender identity**. The agency will now use biological sex to make initial decisions about housing transgender prisoners.

## POSTCARD

### The world's oldest head of government takes center stage in Malaysia

AN AGING STRONGMAN. A CORRUPT protégé. An opposition leader jailed on trumped-up charges. Each of the central players in Malaysia's election on May 9 was making a return to the political theater, but recast allegiances made for an upset that few predicted. At almost 93 years old, Malaysia's former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad handed the ruling coalition its first defeat since independence, and returned to his old job, this time as the world's oldest head of government.

For his political encore, Mahathir defected from the ruling coalition he helped build to unite a fractious opposition in its bid to unseat the scandal-dogged incumbent Najib Razak. "I tried to advise him," he told TIME in an interview on the campaign trail. "But it didn't work. So eventually I decided I would go against him."

A doctor by training, Mahathir spent his 22 years in power until 2003 bringing the former British colony to industrial modernization. At campaign stops across the country, in remote clearings ribbed by rice paddies and in urban parking lots, Mahathir was feted with chants of "Long live Tun," a historic honorific.



Mahathir has vowed to restore the rule of law, to rebuild institutions and to correct what he terms his "biggest mistake": installing Najib, whose alleged links to embezzled funds in a sovereign investment fund could see him face criminal charges. (He denies wrongdoing.)

On election night, Mahathir claimed victory with a warning to Najib not to frustrate the will of the people. Across the country, joyful Malaysians sang the national anthem and waved cell-phone flashlights. "Mahathir made Malaysia known around the world," said Debbie Ambok, a voter in Langkawi.

Mahathir is not free from controversy, after cracking down on political opponents and the judiciary when previously in power. In 1999, he saw his former deputy Anwar Ibrahim imprisoned on what many called politically motivated charges of corruption and sodomy. Having received a royal pardon on a second charge, Anwar has been lined up as Mahathir's successor—but the nonagenarian Prime Minister told TIME he foresees staying in office for at least two years

and possibly three. "I don't want to stay very long, but in the initial stages we need to solve a lot of problems," he said. "The others do not have the experience."

At his first press conference back on the world stage, Mahathir acknowledged that some might still view him as a "dictator." "All those things are in the past," he said, "and we have work to do for the future of our country."

—LAIGNEE BARRON/LANGKAWI

## ANIMALS

### New species, old places

Scientists have discovered 15 previously unknown species of cuckoo bee lurking in museum collections and an old thesis paper. Here, other species hiding in plain sight. —Abigail Abrams

#### PENTACERATOPS

A researcher discovered *Pentaceratops aquilonius*, a cousin to the triceratops, in 2014, in a Canadian museum where it had been stored—but not properly identified—for more than 75 years.

#### OLINGUITO

Scientists found remains of this raccoon-like mammal in a Chicago museum and then confirmed it lives in South America. In 2013, it became the first new carnivore discovered in the Americas in 35 years.

#### ZEBRA RINGLET BUTTERFLY

This species from Peru was uncovered at London's Natural History Museum in 2011 by the institution's butterfly curator. The specimen had been donated to the museum in 1904.







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# Milestones

## DIED

Actor **Margot Kidder**, who played Lois Lane in 1978's *Superman* and its sequels, on May 13 at 69. She appeared in more than 130 movies and TV shows.

➤ **Ernest Medina**, a key figure in the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War, on May 8 at 81. He was charged with responsibility for the 1968 mass killing but was acquitted.

## RELEASED

President Donald Trump's annual financial disclosure, by the government ethics office on May 16. The form showed Trump **reimbursed his lawyer Michael Cohen**—who earlier paid a settlement to adult-film star Stormy Daniels—for more than \$100,000.

## SETTLED

Hundreds of lawsuits filed by **women and girls who said they were sexually assaulted by Larry Nassar**, by the sports doctor's former employer Michigan State University. The school said on May 16 that it will pay \$500 million.

## SUMMITED

Mount Everest, by **Xia Boyu**, a Chinese climber who lost both feet trying to summit Everest in 1975 and both legs to cancer. He reached the top on May 14, becoming the second double amputee to do so.

## REMOVED

Music by **R. Kelly from Spotify's curated playlists** as of May 10. Spotify made the move per its "hateful conduct" policy in light of sexual-abuse claims facing Kelly.



Wolfe, pictured in New York City in 2016, helped create the literary style of nonfiction known as the New Journalism

## DIED

### Tom Wolfe

*A writer who made reality remarkable*

By Scott Kelly

THE DAY I WALKED OUT OF A BOOKSTORE WITH TOM WOLFE'S *The Right Stuff*, I'd only meant to buy some gum. But there it was on the shelf, and it looked interesting, so I took my gum money and bought the book. As I lay on my unmade college dorm bed reading about the pilots who became the first U.S. astronauts, I discovered something I'd never had: an ambition. In his great works of fiction and nonfiction, Wolfe—who died at 88 on May 14—made you feel as if you were there in the moment. The characters in *The Bonfire of the Vanities* seemed like real people in New York City, and *The Right Stuff* made me want to be like those test pilots. About 18 years after that day at the store, I made my first spaceflight.

In 2016, I sent him a photo of myself holding *The Right Stuff* and floating in a module at the International Space Station, and he responded the same day, in very Tom Wolfe fashion, with made-up words and outrageous punctuation. "At last I can point with extravagant pride at what I have done for the USA," he wrote. After I got back to Earth, we had lunch at the Carlyle Hotel, in a corner booth. He showed up with his white three-piece suit and a cane with a wolf on top. I was starting to write a book myself, so I asked him how he did it. "What do you mean?" he said. "I use a pencil."

**Kelly**, a TIME 100 designee, is a retired NASA astronaut, former commander of the International Space Station and the author of *Endurance: A Year in Space, A Lifetime of Discovery*

## DIED

### Sam Nzima

*Photographer for freedom*

IT'S NOT OFTEN THAT A picture changes the world, but the image of a 13-year-old boy shot by police during the June 16, 1976, student uprising in Soweto, South Africa, did. In preserving a moment of naked horror, photographer Sam Nzima, who died at age 83 on May 12, produced a potent weapon in the fight against apartheid: evidence of its brutality.

On that day, Nzima set out to cover what was supposed to be a peaceful protest. But when police opened fire, he captured the carnage with a singular image of a bloodied boy in the arms of a visibly distraught teenager, his sister wailing at his side. Few local papers ran the photo, for fear of angering authorities, but the next day it was splashed on front pages from New York to Moscow. Protesters, incensed by the death, rose up across South Africa and launched a new era of black activism.

Nzima paid a heavy price. Forced to resign from his newspaper job, he never took another photo—although in 1998, after a long legal battle, he finally received the rights to his own work. "That picture destroyed my future in journalism," Nzima told TIME in 2015. "[But] people are free in South Africa because of it." —ARYN BAKER



## Hawaii's **Mazie Hirono** is the Senate's only immigrant and a thorn in the President's side

By Philip Elliott

ON A RAIN-SOAKED MORNING IN LATE APRIL, Mazie Hirono was walking from the U.S. Supreme Court back to her Senate office. She had just watched the nine Justices hear arguments on President Trump's ban on immigrants from six countries with Muslim majorities and North Korea, and as she listened to arguments over the rights of immigrants and religious minorities, she couldn't help but take the debate personally. Hirono, Hawaii's junior Senator, is an immigrant from Japan and the chamber's sole Buddhist. "Immigrants come here and leave everything that they know behind," she says. "We have a sense of the opportunities that this country provides. We do not take those for granted."

At age 70, Hirono has become one of the surprising avatars of what is known among liberals as the Resistance. She's not the loudest voice in the Senate or its most polished speaker. But the first-term Senator has become one of the most outspoken critics of Trump's behavior. "The President is very anti-immigrant. It's a very xenophobic, nationalistic attitude," she says. "Our country is made up of groups of immigrants who came here hoping for a better life. They created America. It's a sad thing to have so many people not remember that, including Trump. His people came from another country, not to mention that his wife is an immigrant."

These sharp rebukes have turned the soft-spoken Senator into a sudden star. "I'm one of the few members who calls him a liar. I don't sugarcoat it and say he stretches the truth. No, the man lies every day," she says. "To call the President a liar, that is not good. But it happens to be the truth."

In January, when the President hosted a freewheeling, bipartisan meeting on immigration, Hirono confronted Trump directly. She was one of only two nonwhite faces at the table—the other was Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey—and she prefaced her question with a preamble that established her credibility on the subject: "As the only immigrant serving in the United States Senate right now ..." Hirono began. Early on in her tenure on Capitol Hill, officers sometimes stopped her from bypassing security lines, not recognizing her as a Senator because she didn't look like most lawmakers. They quickly learned her often smiling

### **HIRONO QUICK FACTS**

#### **A first, in a few ways**

Hirono is the first Asian-American woman to serve in the Senate, the first Senator born in Japan and the first Senator from a Buddhist background.

#### **Handling the volcano fallout**

"These communities will require additional resources to recover," Hirono said, urging aid for the region's small businesses, following the new phase of the May 3 Kilauea volcano eruption.

#### **Vietnam inspired her activism**

She credits the antiwar movement with lighting her political interests.

face. "In our country, racism is never far below the surface," Hirono says, sipping a midafternoon coffee. "I think the Trump campaign exposed the fault lines in our country."

**LATE ON ELECTION NIGHT 2016**, Hirono was at home in Hawaii, trying to decide what to say to supporters after Hillary Clinton's surprise loss. Some of her advisers urged her to take a conciliatory tone, to pledge to work with the new President-elect, to give him the benefit of the doubt. That was the tack many of her colleagues would take in the numb days that followed. Not Hirono. "I didn't feel like making a 'Let's give the man a chance' speech," she recalls. "His entire campaign was so negative and antithetical to everything I believe."

For "a couple of months," Hirono went into a self-imposed television blackout. She couldn't handle what she saw as the President's daily attacks on immigrants, women, democratic institutions and people who didn't share his Christian faith. "There's not a day that goes by that there isn't a fresh assault on the body politic," she says, leaning back in her chair in her seventh-floor corner office on Capitol Hill. "There's hardly a day that goes by that my head doesn't explode because, my goodness!"

A savvy legislator, Hirono spent 13 years in the Hawaii statehouse, eight years as the state's lieutenant governor and six years in the U.S. House before winning her U.S. Senate race in 2012. At the Capitol, she kept her head down and focused on helping immigrants, veterans and the environment. She didn't rush into battle just to hear the noise. But Trump has changed her approach to the office. Slowly, Hirono started saying in public what she was telling colleagues in private. Never one to run for the microphones or book TV appearances at all hours, she started saying yes to interview requests. Her elevated profile helped her avoid a once expected primary challenge.

Hirono has done all this while battling Stage 4 cancer, diagnosed in May 2017. In July she offered an emotional plea to protect President Obama's health care law from a Republican-led appeal. "It's hard for me to talk about this. I think you can tell. Give me a moment," Hirono said in a speech from the Senate floor, delivered without prepared remarks. As her colleagues watched in silence, Hirono described being born at home in rural Japan, her sister's death from pneumonia because the family didn't have access to hospitals and a childhood spent living paycheck to paycheck. She then turned to the present. "I am fighting kidney cancer," she said. "And I'm just so grateful that I had health insurance so that I could concentrate





on the care that I needed rather than how the heck I was going to afford the care that was going to probably save my life.”

Some pundits suggested Hirono had “found her voice” or was “stepping out of the shadows,” both constructs the Senator finds grating and a tad sexist. After all, what man ever lacked a voice? “I had run other people’s campaigns. I had been doing political activities for a decade before I ever ran for office myself,” she says now. “That is so much the experience of women of my generation. We always feel as though we have to bring so much more to the table, and that never stops the guys.”

But Hirono is careful to ground her decisions in reality, including those about her health. “The first question I asked my doctor, when he told me of my diagnosis was, ‘Am I going to die anytime soon?’ He said no,” she remembers. “O.K., let’s talk about what kind of treatment I’m going to have,” was her reply. Doctors removed her right kidney and part of her seventh rib, where the cancer had spread. She is in ongoing immunotherapy treatment. She

gets infusions every three weeks and says she expects to be in treatment for the long haul.

**‘There’s hardly a day that goes by that my head doesn’t explode because, my goodness!’**

MAZIE HIRONO,  
freshly minted  
Resistance icon

**HIRONO IS RUNNING** for a second term on this November’s ballot. She is popular enough in Hawaii that she hasn’t drawn a Democratic primary challenge, and the GOP does not fare well in the islands. Republicans in Washington are not planning to waste their money trying to boost a challenger. “I’m plugging away, not fading away,” Hirono says.

If Trump’s presidency has renewed her sense of purpose, it has not instilled a love for political combat. “I never refer to what I do as my career. What kind of career is it that you have to run for office every two years and go out there and ask total strangers to support you?” she asks. “It’s what I do. It’s my service.”

So why not retire?

“One person can make a difference,” Hirono says. “My mom changed my life by bringing me to this country.” Plus, she says, the President needs a counterbalance. “The battles that we win,” she says, “never stay won.”





## Shared sorrow

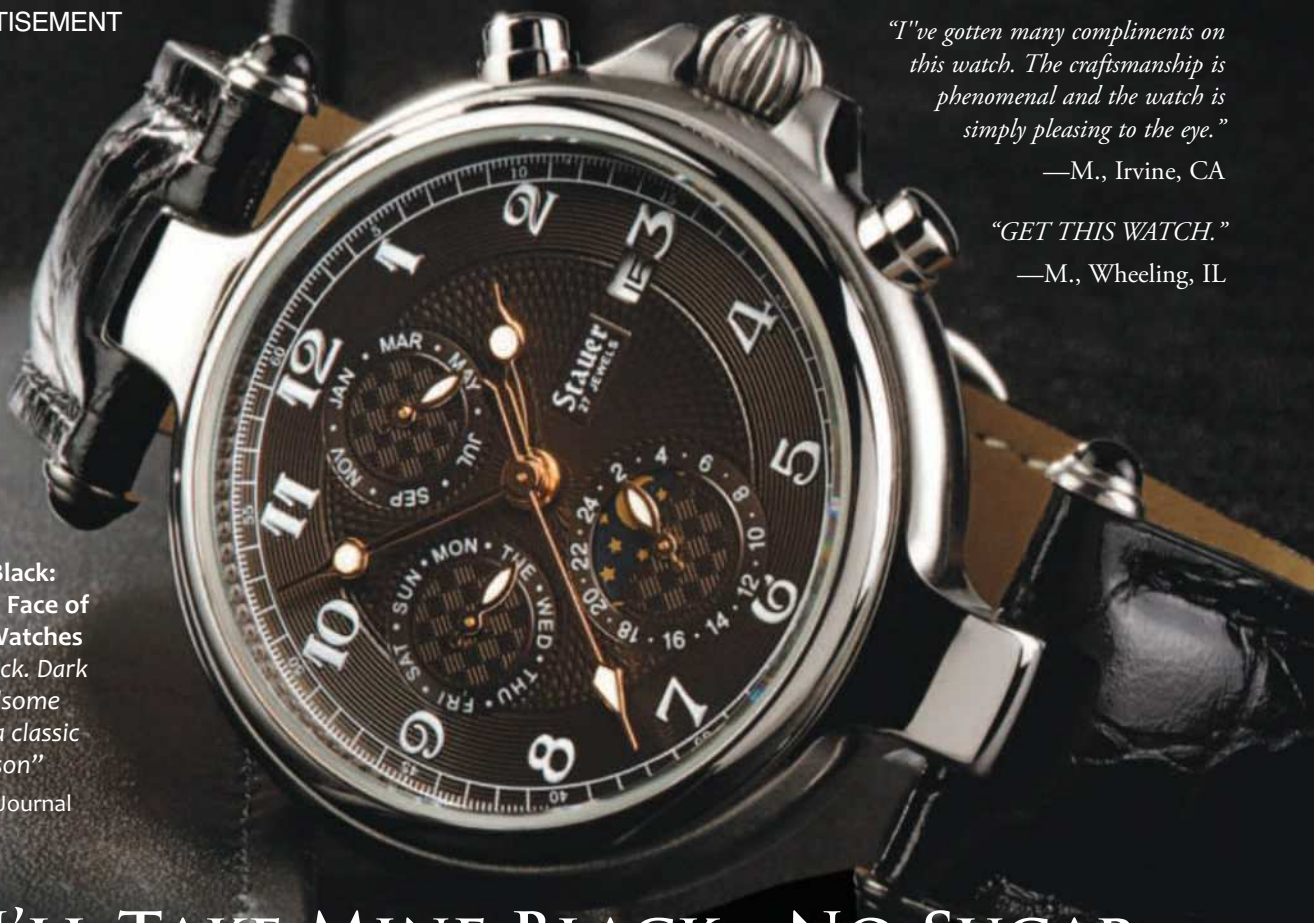
Kiwanda Robinson is comforted during a solidarity march for her son Keeven Robinson in Jefferson Parish, La., on May 14. That day, a coroner in the New Orleans suburb announced that the 22-year-old, who died a week earlier while being arrested, had asphyxiated; the report noted evidence of “significant traumatic injuries to the neck.”

The four narcotics deputies who chased Robinson have since been reassigned to desk duty, and an investigation continues into whether they used excessive force.

*Photograph by Gerald Herbert—AP/Shutterstock*

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**Back in Black:**  
The New Face of  
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remains a classic  
for a reason”  
— Men's Journal

*“I’ve gotten many compliments on  
this watch. The craftsmanship is  
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—M., Irvine, CA

*“GET THIS WATCH.”*

—M., Wheeling, IL

## I’LL TAKE MINE BLACK...NO SUGAR

In the early 1930s watch manufacturers took a clue from Henry Ford’s favorite quote concerning his automobiles, “You can have any color as long as it is black.” Black dialed watches became the rage especially with pilots and race drivers. Of course, since the black dial went well with a black tuxedo, the adventurer’s black dial watch easily moved from the airplane hangar to dancing at the nightclub. Now, Stauer brings back the “Noire”, a design based on an elegant timepiece built in 1936. Black dialed, complex automatics from the 1930s have recently hit new heights at auction. One was sold for in excess of \$600,000. We thought that you might like to have an affordable version that will be much more accurate than the original.



*27 jewels and hand-assembled parts drive this classic masterpiece.*

**Basic black with a twist.** Not only are the dial, hands and face vintage, but we used a 27-jeweled automatic movement. This is the kind of engineering desired by fine watch collectors worldwide. But since we design this classic movement on state of the art computer-controlled Swiss built machines, the accuracy is excellent. Three interior dials display day, month and date. We have priced the luxurious Stauer *Noire* at a price to keep you in the black... only 3 payments of \$33. So slip into the back of your black limousine, savor some rich tasting black coffee and look at your wrist knowing that you have some great times on your hands.

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# The View

SOCIETY

## A BET BIGGER THAN SPORTS

By Sean Gregory

As federal laws go, the Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act (PASPA) never really hit the jackpot. Passed by Congress in 1992 to combat the supposed scourge of sports gambling, it effectively banned this vice in just about every state, while giving Nevada—the only one that sanctioned full sports ▶

### INSIDE

THE DANGERS OF  
DELAYING A DEAL ON  
NAFTA EVEN FURTHER

SCIENCE SHOWS HOW  
NONVERBAL CUES ARE AN  
UNRELIABLE KIND OF CONSENT

WHY KIDS ARE SO MUCH  
BETTER THAN ADULTS AT  
LEARNING NEW LANGUAGES

# TheView Opener

gambling—a perpetual monopoly. During the nearly 26 years of the law's existence, legal sports gambling in Nevada rose 172%, from \$1.8 billion per year to \$4.9 billion, according to the UNLV Center for Gaming Research. Meanwhile, the American Gaming Association estimates that the national illegal sports gambling market grew from \$80 billion in 1999 to \$150 billion currently.

And so if you bet that PASPA would fail miserably, collect your winnings at the window—especially now, since it's no longer on the books. On May 14, the Supreme Court struck down the relic of the pre-Internet days, before fantasy sports helped normalize the act of wagering on athletic outcomes for millions of Americans. In a 6-3 decision, the Justices determined that PASPA was an unconstitutional infringement on states' rights. "A more direct affront to state sovereignty," wrote Justice Samuel Alito for the majority, "is not easy to imagine."

The decision creates a path for states across the country to legalize sports gambling. Many appear eager to do so. Since 2017, four of them—Mississippi, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Connecticut—have passed pro-sports-gambling legislation, in anticipation of PASPA being overturned. New Jersey, which filed the original legal challenges to the law, plans to move quickly; Monmouth Park race track, which already contracted with a sports-book operator to open up betting at the facility, is targeting Memorial Day, May 28, to start collecting wagers. The West Virginia Lottery, which will regulate sports gambling in that state, anticipates taking bets by late August, in time for the kickoff to the football season. Eilers & Krejci Gaming, an industry research firm, predicts that PASPA's repeal will spur 32 states to enact sports-gambling legislation by the end of 2023.

**THIS OUTCOME COUNTS** as a victory for states, consumers and sports stakeholders. The billions bet in underground markets prove that there's robust demand. A regulated market lets states take a slice of that pie. "We

have about 10 million adults within 90 minutes of one of our casinos," says Danielle Boyd, managing general counsel for the West Virginia Lottery. "This is an opportunity for them to offer sports books as an amenity and drive traffic back into West Virginia." Licensed operators can also offer in-state mobile sports gambling. West Virginia will collect 10% of the profits and funnel the first \$15 million per year into the state lottery fund, which finances school construction, senior-citizen services and tourism promotion.

States can also get creative. Tom Farrey, executive director of the Aspen Institute's Sports & Society Program, recommends that lawmakers look as far afield as Norway for inspiration. There, sports-gambling revenues fund community athletic facilities for kids. Not coincidentally, Norway perennially thrives in national health rankings. "There

are fundamental problems in the provision of sports and recreation opportunities in our country," says Farrey. "This is a huge chance to get our system right."

And lest we forget: legalized betting will boost the professional sports business. "We see this as a new opportunity to engage an audience that we

currently don't reach," says Andy Levinson, senior VP of tournament administration for the PGA Tour, which came out in favor of regulated sports gambling in April. Watching golf won't be a drag to anyone taking the over on Jordan Spieth's next tee-shot distance. You could get hooked.

Gambling's downsides can't be ignored. The Supreme Court decision will spur "the largest expansion of gambling in our nation's history," says Keith Whyte, executive director of the National Council on Problem Gambling. "Few of the stakeholders have taken active steps to mitigate the negative impact." But it's far from too late.

The Supreme Court has given America's leaders a rare chance to write smart public policy from scratch. Policy that fills public coffers, while allowing millions to have some (legal) fun. Policy that helps people who take things too far. The gamble's worth it. □



*Sports books, like this one in Las Vegas, could soon pop up across the country*

## READING LIST

► Highlights from stories on [time.com/ideas](https://time.com/ideas)

### Life after attempting suicide

Mike Faist, **who originated the role of Connor in the Tony Award-winning musical *Dear Evan Hansen***, shares a talk he had with the founder of Live Through This, an interview series with survivors of suicide attempts, who helped inform his performance.

### A CIA leader's secret ethics

Abu Zubaydah was waterboarded 83 times at a black site that CIA Director nominee Gina Haspel later oversaw. His counsel, Joseph Margulies, writes of her May 9 testimony: **"Haspel sat before the American people and touted her 'moral compass'—but refused to show us which way it points."**

### Whom historians should quote

Scott W. Stern, author of the recent book *The Trials of Nina McCall*, explains how **government officials in the U.S. locked up women for being "promiscuous" during the 1900s**, in what a prisoner described as "concentration camp[s]"—and why it's vital to use survivors' own words when telling their stories.



## THE RISK REPORT

# Time's almost up to spare NAFTA from Trump's chopping block

By Ian Bremmer



THE IRAN NUCLEAR deal isn't the only major agreement that President Trump promised voters he would either rewrite or tear up. After

nine months of talks, U.S., Mexican and Canadian negotiators remain deadlocked on how to rework, and save, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). There's now a renewed sense of urgency, because time is running out to reach a deal to spare NAFTA, the pact that has governed cross-border trade since 1994. If no agreement is reached in May, things will become much more complicated. Here's why:

Even if the three sides come to an agreement this month, Trump can't just sign it into law. The U.S. Constitution gives Congress, and not the President, power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. Under trade promotion rules, Trump must notify Congress 90 days before he intends to sign it. Then the U.S. International Trade Commission must report to Congress on the likely impact of the deal before lawmakers can vote on it. That will take more time. Then Congress has 90 session days before voting yes or no on the deal. House Speaker Paul Ryan calculated that lawmakers would need to see a deal by May 17 in order to be able to vote on it this year.

**WHY THE HURRY?** Because the political headwinds aren't in the deal's favor—and not just in the U.S. Canada's federal elections aren't due to be held until 2019, and in any case, both the Liberal and Conservative parties support NAFTA. But the situation in Mexico is more complicated. Mexicans will choose a new President on July 1. The clear front runner in that election is the veteran leftist Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

He doesn't oppose a NAFTA re-negotiation on principle, because he knows the loss would harm Mexico's economy far more than that of the U.S. or Canada. But if he wins and no deal has been agreed upon by the time he takes office in December, he will certainly replace virtually the entire Mexican negotiating team, throwing the entire process back to an earlier stage.

**THEN THERE IS** the complex political calculus in the U.S., where many of the members of Congress who are facing re-election on Nov. 6 are less than enthusiastic about casting a vote on a controversial trade deal. Pro-trade Republican lawmakers may find themselves in a tough spot if Trump

**The longer a deal is delayed, the more likely that Trump will decide to simply walk away from NAFTA altogether**

presents them with a union-friendly deal that prevents investors from being able to sue foreign governments in tribunals, or requires more automobile production in the U.S., or includes a sunset clause that could automatically kill the deal after five years. These are the sorts of changes that some Democrats will like and that Republicans and the business community won't want.

Yet the midterm elections might come directly into play if Democrats take control of Congress and decide that, even if they like many of the agreement's new terms, they don't want to hand Trump a political victory. They might push for yet more changes to the deal, which would also give Mexico's López Obrador a chance to push for some amendments of his own.

But the U.S. President's notoriously mercurial temperament is the X factor in all of this. The longer a deal is delayed and the more it becomes an agreement that Democrats and López Obrador can get behind, the more likely that, as with the Iran nuclear deal, Trump will decide to simply walk away from NAFTA altogether. □

## SCIENCE

# Why your brain is bad at silent consent

The human brain is wired so that people see what they believe. It is a predictive organ—constantly guessing what will happen next. Because of this, face and body movements aren't an actual language that conveys consent, rejection and emotion in general. Your experience that a person's smile means "I'm happy" or "I consent" or even "I'm afraid" begins with your brain's belief about what is true. This means that two brains can perceive the same events differently.

Research from my lab shows that your mood can influence what you see; when you feel good, other people look more attractive, trustworthy and appealing. It's human nature to sometimes see the world through desire-colored glasses.

When men who are accused of sexual misconduct insist that their encounter was consensual, they may be lying, or they may be suffering from an error of this active inference. Miscommunication happens but is never an excuse for rape, assault or harassment. The lesson is clear: use your words. They're less likely to be misunderstood.

—Lisa Feldman Barrett,  
Ph.D., author of  
How Emotions Are Made





FRONTIERS OF MEDICINE

# Why kids learn languages more easily than you do

**By Jamie Ducharme**

LEARNING A SECOND LANGUAGE IS TRICKY AT ANY age (and it only gets tougher the longer you wait to crack open that dusty French book). Now, in a new study, scientists have pinpointed the exact age at which your chances of reaching fluency in a second language seem to plummet: 10.

The study, published in the journal *Cognition*, found that it's "nearly impossible" for language learners to reach native-level fluency if they start learning a second tongue after age 10. But that's not because language skills start to go downhill. "It turns out you're still learning fast," says study co-author Joshua Hartshorne, an assistant professor of psychology at Boston College. "It's just that you run out of time, because your ability to learn starts dropping at around 17 or 18 years old." People who start a few years after age 10 may still become quite good at a language, the authors say, but they are unlikely to become fluent.

Kids may be better than adults at learning new languages for many reasons. Children's brains are more plastic than those of adults, meaning they're better able to adapt and respond to new information. "All learning involves the brain changing," Hartshorne says, "and children's brains seem to be a lot more adept at changing." Kids may also be more willing to try new things (and to potentially look foolish in the process) than adults are. Their comparatively new grasp on their native tongue may also be advantageous. Unlike adults, who tend to default to the rules and patterns of their first language, kids may be able to approach a

new one with a blank slate.

These findings may seem discouraging, but it was heartening for scientists to learn that the critical period for fluent language acquisition might be longer than previously thought. Some scientists believed that the window begins to close shortly after birth, while others stretched it to early adolescence. Compared with those estimates, age 17 or 18—when language-learning ability starts to drop off—seems relatively old.

**FOR THE STUDY**, the researchers created an online quiz promising to guess people's native language, dialect and home country based on their responses to English grammar questions. At the end of the quiz, people entered their actual native language, if and when they had learned any others and where they had lived. The quiz went viral: almost 670,000 people took it, giving the researchers huge amounts of data from English speakers of many ages and backgrounds. Analyzing the responses and grammar mistakes allowed them to draw unusually precise conclusions about language learning.

The findings also offer insights for adults hoping to pick up a new tongue. People fared better when they learned by immersion, rather than simply in a classroom. And moving to a place where your desired language is spoken is the best way to learn as an adult, says Hartshorne.

If that's not an option, you can mimic an immersive environment by finding ways to have conversations with native speakers in their own communities, Hartshorne says. By doing so, it's possible to become conversationally proficient—even without the advantage of a child's brain.

## you asked

# Will earbuds ruin my child's hearing?

About 20% of children have permanent hearing loss caused mostly by exposure to loud noise, according to the Hearing Health Foundation. Still, “listening to music with earbuds is not a major cause of hearing loss,” says Dr. Robert Dobie, a clinical professor of otolaryngology at the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio. Instead, other common exposures to loud noise are much more likely to hurt your child’s ears, he says. “A lot more kids lose hearing from recreational shooting or hunting than from loud music,” Dobie says.

That's not to say earbuds are always safe. Playing music loudly—especially to block out background noise—can damage hearing. If children hear ringing in their ears when they pull out their buds, or if the world sounds a little muffled, that's a sure sign they need to turn down the volume. But as long as the buds stay at a reasonable volume, Dobie says, “there's not much evidence that they offer any unique risks.” —*Markham Heid*







**DELICIOUSLY  
HEART HEALTHY**



While many factors affect heart disease, diets low in saturated fat and cholesterol may reduce the risk of heart disease.  
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World

# BEYOND HOPE

**As Israel gets its way with Washington,  
Gazans mobilize despair** By Karl Vick

Photographs by Emanuele Satolli for TIME



An injured  
Palestinian man is  
evacuated near the  
Gaza Strip border  
with Israel on  
May 14







*Paramedics assist a demonstrator struck in the chest and arms by fire from Israeli troops*

IT IS POSSIBLE, IN THEORY, THAT THE parallel events of May 14 might affect the sympathies of Americans watching them unfold on the split screens of cable news channels.

In Jerusalem, the ceremonial opening of the new U.S. Embassy proceeded at a stately pace, President Trump's daughter Ivanka unveiling a plaque that announced not only the new address for U.S. representation in Israel but also a new, snugger alignment with the host nation. A few miles away, cameras captured the chaos as Israeli soldiers methodically cut down some 2,700 Palestinians, 60 fatally, as they marched toward the fence that separates Israel from the Gaza Strip.

That patch of land, which hugs the Mediterranean Sea between Israel and Egypt, is home to some 2 million Palestinians, most of whose families once lived on land that is today Israel. They are stubborn refugees with no prospect of return, physically confined in an area only twice the size of the District of Columbia and with no prospect of improvement. Last year a Gaza home had four to six hours of electricity a day and water for six to eight hours every

fourth day. Youth unemployment is 60%.

"People are almost dead here," says Amal Murtaja, a teacher at the American International School in Gaza, explaining why thousands have gathered at the border over the past six weeks. "They have zero money to support their families. So they thought, 'We're dead anyways.'"

The idea of assembling at the fortified fence, both to protest the embassy move and to assert a right to return, first took root on social media. Political factions soon glommed on, including Hamas, the Islamist group that controls the Gaza Strip. Inside Gaza, that brought a level of official organization to the project. Outside Gaza, it made an emotionally complex undertaking easier to condemn.

Partly funded by Iran, Hamas is seen as a terrorist group by the U.S. and Europe; it sent suicide bombers into Israel during the armed uprising of 2000. Its imprimatur, and presence, allowed Israel to cast the confrontation in purely military terms. "The responsibility for these tragic deaths rests squarely with Hamas," White House spokesman Raj Shah said on May 14, declining the balancing language of previous Administrations. "Israel has

the right to defend itself."

With Trump in the White House, Israel has never sat taller in the saddle. The Iran nuclear deal is gone, and the opening of the embassy undercuts Palestinian aspirations for a Jerusalem capital of their own. The move was welcomed in Israel as a moment of validation 70 years to the day after its founding. The U.S. was the first country to recognize the new nation, a move Americans supported 2 to 1. Decades later, Americans continue to favor the Israelis over the Palestinians in ratios that are the mirror opposite of how the sides are viewed in Europe. There, newspapers referred to the Gaza "massacre."

What has changed in the U.S. is the nature of the support. A March Pew poll found Republicans three times as likely as Democrats to say they prefer the Israeli side (half of Democrats sympathized with Palestinians). The GOP's backing is driven partly by evangelical Christians, whose zeal Israelis view uneasily, and partly by Trump, who swept aside the pretense of "honest broker" maintained by previous Administrations and moved the embassy out of Tel Aviv, where other nations keep their diplomats in deference





*Palestinians rest in a field near the border as the day's demonstrations wind down*

to Palestinian aspirations. The result is a consolidation of political power for Israel commensurate with its military might—both guaranteed by the U.S.

**LEFT UNSAID IS** why the U.S. ever wanted to be an honest broker. The specter of terrorism may animate Trump's approach to the region, but U.S. diplomacy for decades has recognized that the Palestinian struggle is for nationhood. And with that prospect diminished, the despair surging in Gaza also subsumes the West Bank. That Palestinian territory is governed not by Hamas but by the Palestinian Authority, funded by the U.S. and Europe and led by Mahmoud Abbas, whom Washington maneuvered to succeed Yasser Arafat. Abbas, described by Pope Francis as a "man of peace," once spoke ardently of giving Palestinians hope. But after the embassy announcement he appeared to have lost his own, delivering a speech on April 30 smattered with anti-Semitic rhetoric, which he later walked back. A sense of regression was afoot in the land.

"Look at our young men, everywhere, who are telling the Israeli occupation that we sacrifice our lives for liberation," said

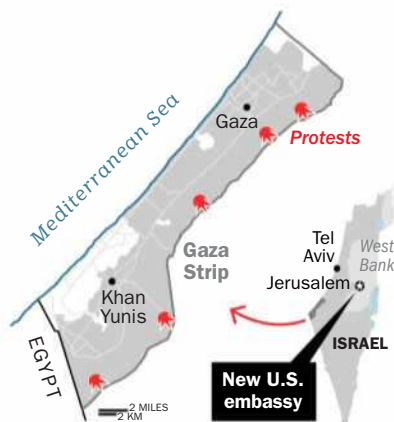
Ghassan Wahdan, 41, at a May 14 protest near an Israeli checkpoint on the West Bank. "Either we want to live a decent life, or we don't want a life."

Israeli policymakers privately speak not of negotiating a final peace but of "managing the conflict." In 2011, when the Arab Spring encouraged the idea that nonviolent marches could achieve anything, and at least 14 Palestinian protesters were killed breaching border fences, Israeli commanders expressed alarm at the toll. "We have to come up

with an improvement in nonlethal weapons, no doubt," one Israeli official said at the time. Yet no such innovation was evident on the Gaza border on May 14. Soon after the violence, the U.N. Security Council drafted a statement calling for an investigation, which was swiftly blocked by the U.S.

How Palestinians choose to proceed will also be key. One West Bank advocate for expanding nonviolent confrontation, Fadi Quran, argued that the deaths will play the role the 1960 Sharpeville massacre did in South Africa, where the slaying of 69 anti-apartheid activists changed the course of the nation's history. "This year is going to be the year that either non-violence succeeds in transforming how the struggle is won on the ground here," Quran says, "or it's the year where Palestinians realize that they cannot count on the international community, no matter what form of struggle they use."

The conflict between Israel and Palestinians, in other words, may no longer be the burning central question of the Middle East. But it's not for lack of fuel. —*With reporting by* NUHA MUSLEH/RAMALLAH □









*The 2,700 injured  
on May 14  
overwhelmed  
health facilities;  
a wounded man at  
Shifa Hospital in  
Gaza City*

Nation

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MY GENERATION WAS  
SUPPOSED TO LEVEL  
AMERICA'S PLAYING FIELD.  
INSTEAD, WE RIGGED  
IT FOR OURSELVES

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BY STEVEN BRILL

Illustrations by Ross MacDonald for TIME









## ONE

LATELY, MOST AMERICANS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL leanings, have been asking themselves some version of the same question: How did we get here? How did the world's greatest democracy and economy become a land of crumbling roads, galloping income inequality, bitter polarization and dysfunctional government?

As I tried to find the answer over the past two years, I discovered a recurring irony. About five decades ago, the core values that make America great began to bring America down. The First Amendment became a tool for the wealthy to put a thumb on the scales of democracy. America's rightly celebrated dedication to due process was used as an instrument to block government from enforcing job-safety rules, holding corporate criminals accountable and otherwise protecting the unprotected. Election reforms meant to enhance democracy wound up undercutting democracy. Ingenious financial and legal engineering turned our economy from an engine of long-term growth and shared prosperity into a casino with only a few big winners.

These distinctly American ideas became the often unintended instruments for splitting the country into two classes: the protected and the unprotected. The protected overmatched, overran and paralyzed the government. The unprotected were left even further behind. And in many cases, the work was done by a generation of smart, hungry strivers who benefited from one of the most American values of all: meritocracy.

This is not to say that all is rotten in the United States. There are more opportunities available today for women, nonwhites and other minorities than ever. There are miracles happening

daily in the nation's laboratories, on the campuses of its world-class colleges and universities, in the offices of companies creating software for robots and medical diagnostics, in concert halls and on Broadway stages, and at joyous ceremonies swearing in proud new citizens.

Yet key measures of the nation's public engagement, satisfaction and confidence—voter turnout, knowledge of public-policy issues, faith that the next generation will fare better than the current one, and respect for basic institutions, especially the government—are far below what they were 50 years ago, and in many cases have reached near historic lows.

It is difficult to argue that the cynicism is misplaced. From matters small—there are an average of 657 water-main breaks a day, for example—to large, it is clear that the country has gone into a tailspin over the last half-century, when John F. Kennedy's New Frontier was about seizing the future, not trying to survive the present.

For too many, the present is hard enough. Income inequality has soared: inflation-adjusted middle-class wages have been nearly frozen for the last four decades, while earnings of the top 1% have nearly tripled. The recovery from the crash of 2008—which saw banks and bankers bailed out while millions lost their homes, savings and jobs—was reserved almost exclusively for the wealthiest. Their incomes in the three years following the crash went up by nearly a third, while the bottom 99% saw an uptick of less than half of 1%. Only a democracy and an economy that has discarded its basic mission of holding the community together, or failed at it, would produce those results.

Meanwhile, the celebrated American economic-mobility engine is sputtering. For adults in their 30s, the chance of earning more than their parents dropped to 50% from 90% just two generations earlier. The American middle class, once an aspirational model for the world, is no longer the world's richest.

Most Americans with average incomes have been left to fend for themselves, often at jobs where automation, outsourcing, the decline of union protection and the boss's obsession with squeezing out every penny of short-term profit have eroded any sense of security. In 2017, household debt had grown higher than the peak reached in 2008 before the crash, with student and automobile loans staking growing claims on family paychecks.

Although the U.S. remains the world's richest country, it has the third-highest poverty rate among the 35 nations in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), behind only Turkey and Israel. Nearly 1 in 5 American children lives in a household that the government classifies as “food insecure,” meaning they are without “access to enough food for active, healthy living.”

Beyond that, too few basic services seem to work as they should. America's airports are an embarrassment, and a modern air-traffic control system is more than 25 years behind its original schedule. The power grid, roads and rails are crumbling, pushing the U.S. far down international rankings for infrastructure quality. Despite spending more on health care and K-12 education per capita than most other developed countries, health care outcomes and student achievement also rank in the middle or worse globally. Among the 35 OECD countries, American children rank 30th in math proficiency and 19th in science.

American politicians talk about “American exceptionalism”



so habitually that it should have its own key on their speechwriters' laptops. Is this the exceptionalism they have in mind?

Perhaps they should look at their own performance, which is best described as pathetic. Congress has not passed a comprehensive budget on time without omnibus bills since 1994. There are more than 20 registered lobbyists for every member of Congress. Most are deployed to block anything that would tax, regulate or otherwise threaten a deep-pocketed client.

Indeed, money has come to dominate everything so completely that the people we send to D.C. to represent us have been reduced to begging on the phone for campaign cash up to five hours a day and spending their evenings taking checks at fundraisers organized by those swarming lobbyists. A gerrymandering process has rigged easy wins for most of them, as long as they fend off primary challengers—which ensures that they will gravitate toward the special-interest positions of their donors and their party's base, while racking up mounting deficits to pay for goods and services that cost more than budgeted, rarely work as promised and are seldom delivered on time.

## TWO

THE STORY OF HOW ALL THIS CAME TO BE IS LIKE a movie in which everything seems clear only if it is played back from the start in slow motion. Beginning about 50 years ago, each scene unfolded slowly, usually without any sign of its ultimate impact. The story of America's tailspin is not about villains, though there are some. It is not about a conspiracy to bring the country down, nor did it spring from one single source.

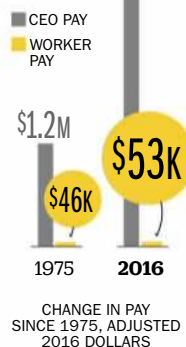
But there is a theme that threads through and ties together all the strands: many of the most talented, driven Americans used what makes America great—the First Amendment, due process, financial and legal ingenuity, free markets and free trade, meritocracy, even democracy itself—to chase the American Dream. And they won it, for themselves. Then, in a way unprecedented in history, they were able to consolidate their winnings, outsmart and co-opt the forces that might have reined them in, and pull up the ladder so more could not share in their success or challenge their primacy.

By continuing to get better at what they do, by knocking away the guardrails limiting their winnings, aggressively engineering changes in the political landscape, and by dint of the often unanticipated consequences of their innovations, they created a nation of moats that protected them from accountability and from the damage their triumphs caused in the larger community. Most of the time,

## PROTECTED VS. UNPROTECTED, BY THE NUMBERS

CEOs of the largest U.S. firms earn an average of \$15 million per year—nearly 300 times more than typical workers

\$15M



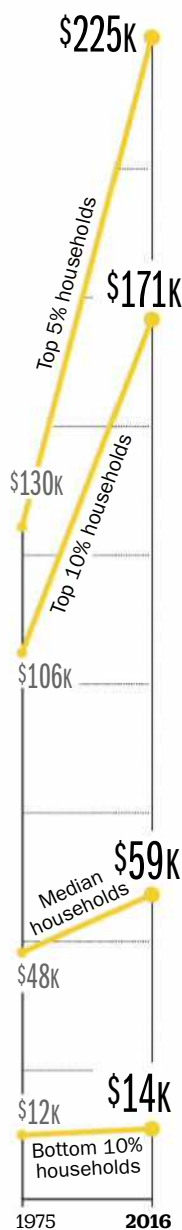
our elected and appointed representatives were no match for these overachievers. As a result of their savvy, their drive and their resources (and a certain degree of privilege, as these strivers may have come from humble circumstances but are mostly white men), America all but abandoned its most ambitious and proudest ideal: the never perfect, always debated and perpetually sought after balance between the energizing inequality of achievement in a competitive economy and the community-binding equality promised by democracy. In a battle that began a half-century ago, the achievers won.

The result is a new, divided America. On one side are the protected few—the winners—who don't need government for much and even have a stake in sabotaging the government's responsibility to all of its citizens. For them, the new, broken America works fine, at least in the short term. An understaffed IRS is a plus for people most likely to be the target of audits. Underfunded customer service at the Social Security Administration is irrelevant to those not living week to week, waiting for their checks. Except for the most civic-minded among them, corporate executives are not likely to worry that their government doesn't produce a comprehensive budget. They don't worry about the straitjacket their government faces in recruiting and rewarding talent or in training or dismissing the untalented because of a broken civil-service system. Civil service is another great American reform that in the last 50 years has become a great American moat, protecting incompetent or corrupt workers, like those who supervised the Veterans Affairs hospitals where patient waiting lists were found to have been falsified.

On the other side are the unprotected many. They may be independent and hardworking, but they look to their government to preserve their way of life and maybe even improve it. The unprotected need the government to provide good public schools so that their children have a chance to advance. They need a level competitive playing field for their small businesses, a fair shake in consumer disputes and a realistic shot at justice in the courts. They need the government to provide a safety net to ensure that their families have access to good health care, that no one goes hungry when shifts in the economy or temporary setbacks take away their jobs and that they get help to rebuild after a hurricane or other disaster. They need the government to ensure a safe workplace and a living minimum wage. They need mass-transit systems that work and call centers at Social Security offices that don't produce busy signals. They need the government to keep the political system fair and protect it from domination by those who can give politicians the most money. They need the government to provide fair labor laws and to promote an economy and a tax code that tempers the extremes of income inequality and makes economic

## THE RICH GET RICHER

Lower- and middle-class earnings have been stagnant as incomes at the top have grown



EARNINGS BY PERCENTILE, ADJUSTED 2016 DOLLARS

opportunity more than an empty cliché.

The protected need few of these common goods. They don't have to worry about underperforming public schools, dilapidated mass-transit systems or jammed Social Security hotlines. They have accountants and lawyers who can negotiate their employment contracts or deal with consumer disputes, assuming they want to bother. They see labor or consumer-protection laws, and fair tax codes, as threats to their winnings—which they have spent the last 50 years consolidating by eroding these common goods and the government that would provide them.

That, rather than a split between Democrats and Republicans, is the real polarization that has broken America since the 1960s. It's the protected vs. the unprotected, the common good vs. maximizing and protecting the elite winners' winnings.

## THREE

I WAS ONE OF THOSE ELITE WINNERS. IN 1964, I was a bookworm growing up in Far Rockaway, a working-class section of Queens. One day, I read in a biography of John F. Kennedy that he had gone to something called a prep school. None of my teachers at Junior High School 198 had a clue what that meant, but I soon figured out that prep school was like college. You got to go to classes and live on a campus, only you got to go four years earlier, which seemed like a fine idea. It seemed even better when I discovered that some prep schools offered financial aid. I ended up at Deerfield Academy, in Western Massachusetts, where the headmaster, Frank Boyden, told my worried parents, who ran a perpetually struggling liquor store, that his financial-aid policy was that they should send him a check every year for whatever they could afford.

Three years later, in 1967, I found myself sitting in the headmaster's office one day in the fall of my senior year with a man named R. Inslee Clark Jr., the dean of admissions at Yale. Clark looked over my record and asked me a bunch of questions, most of which were about where I had grown up and how I had ended up at Deerfield. Then he paused, looked me in the eye and asked if I really wanted to go to Yale—if it was my first choice. When I said yes, Clark's reply was instant: "Then I can promise you that you are in. I will tell Mr. Boyden that you don't have to apply anywhere else. Just kind of keep it to yourself."

What I didn't know then was that I was part of a revolution being led by Clark, whose nickname was Inky. I was about to become one of what would come to be known as Inky's boys and, later, girls. We were part of a meritocracy infusion that flourished at Yale and other elite education institutions, law firms and investment banks in the mid-1960s and '70s. It produced great progress in equalizing



opportunity. But it had the unintended consequence of entrenching a new aristocracy of rich knowledge workers who were much smarter and more driven than the old-boy network of heirs born on third base—and much more able to enrich and protect the clients who could afford them.

After college, I went on to Yale Law School and graduated in 1975, at a time when demand for lawyers in the flourishing knowledge-worker economy was exploding. By the mid-1980s, in terms of dollars generated, the legal industry was bigger than steel or textiles, and about the same size as the auto industry. The new lawyers were increasingly concentrated in fast-growing firms that served large corporations and were prepared to pay skyrocketing salaries to attract the best talent. Soon, the gap between pay in the private and public sectors was too large to attract enough talented young lawyers to government or public-interest law—a change described by Stanford law professor Robert Gordon in 1988 as "one of the most antisocial acts of the bar in recent history."

I played a role in this "antisocial" movement. In 1979, I started a magazine called the *American Lawyer*, which focused on the business of law firms and the intriguing questions lurking behind their elegant reception areas. Which ones were best managed? Which offered the most opportunity to women or minorities? Which were more likely to promote associates to partnership? Which had the fairest or most generous bonus systems? And, yes, which provided the highest profits for partners?

That last question resulted in the *American Lawyer* launching a special issue every summer, beginning in 1985, in which we deployed reporters



to pierce the secrecy of these private partnerships so that the magazine could rank the revenues and average profits taken home by partners at the largest firms. When the first survey was published, I received a call from a former classmate who practiced at a large Los Angeles firm. He was outraged because he—and his wife—had found out that another classmate who worked at a seemingly fungible L.A. firm made about 25% more than he did. Until then, they had been perfectly happy with his six-figure income.

The fallout from this report and those from similar trade publications was significant and double-edged. The new flow-of-market information about these businesses made those who ran them more accountable to their partners, their employees and their clients, but it also transformed the practice of law by the country's most talented lawyers in ways that had significant drawbacks. The emphasis was now fully on serving those clients who could pay the most.

## FOUR

THE MERITOCRACY'S ASCENT WAS ABOUT MORE THAN PERSONAL PROFIT. As my generation of achievers graduated from elite universities and moved into the professional world, their personal successes often had serious societal consequences. They upended corporate America and Wall Street with inventions in law and finance that created an economy built on deals that moved assets around instead of building new ones. They created exotic, and risky, financial instruments, including derivatives and credit default swaps, that produced sugar highs of immediate profits but separated those taking the risk from those who would bear the consequences. They organized hedge funds that turned owning stock into a minute-by-minute bet rather than a long-term investment. They invented proxy fights, leveraged buyouts and stock buybacks that gave lawyers and bankers a bonanza of new fees and maximized short-term profits for increasingly unsentimental shareholders, but deadened incentives for the long-term growth of the rest of the economy.

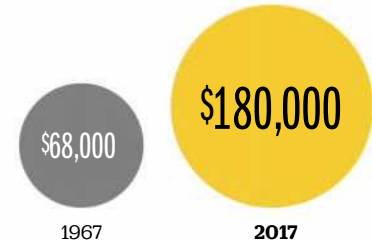
Regulatory agencies were overwhelmed by battalions of lawyers who brilliantly weaponized the bedrock American value of due process so that, for example, an Occupational Safety and Health Administration rule protecting workers from a deadly chemical could be challenged and delayed for more than a decade and end up being hundreds of pages long. Lawyers then contested the meaning of every clause while racking up fees of hundreds of dollars per hour from clients who were saving millions of dollars on every clause they could water down.

They deployed litigators to fend off private-sector unions in the South and to defend their firings of union supporters and other blatant violations of law, for which they happily paid fines equivalent to 1% to 2% of what they saved by underpaying their workers.

Deploying the First Amendment right to "petition the Government for a redress of grievances," thousands of achievers began in the 1970s to turn Washington into a colony of lobbyists. Through the power of the campaign cash increasingly wielded by their clients, much of which they helped raise and distribute, the hordes of lobbyists were able to get riders or exemptions

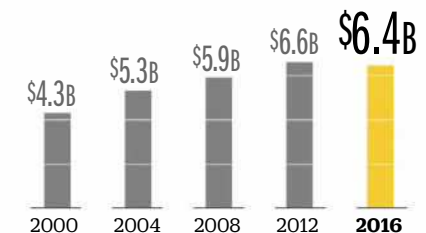
## HOW THE MERITOCRATS PROTECT THEMSELVES

Starting salaries at the nation's top law firms have soared



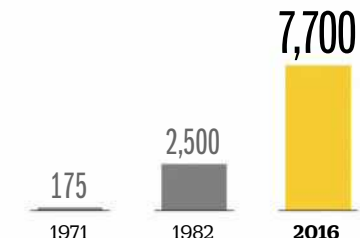
SALARIES OF FIRST-YEAR LAW ASSOCIATES, ADJUSTED 2017 DOLLARS

The cost of running for higher office has ballooned



MONEY SPENT, PER ELECTION CYCLE, BY PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES, POLITICAL PARTIES AND INDEPENDENT INTEREST GROUPS

Thousands of corporations and trade associations employ lobbyists who outnumber members of Congress 20 to 1



FIRMS WITH REGISTERED LOBBYISTS IN WASHINGTON

worth billions inserted into legislation governing trade, the tax code, job safety or industry subsidies. Although labor laws were routinely being violated by employers in highly publicized fights, and Democrats controlled both houses of Congress and the White House, they were able to block legislation introduced by President Jimmy Carter that would have toughened penalties for violations and helped level what had become a lopsided playing field when it came to organizing unions in the private sector. As private-sector unions continued to dwindle, the achievers made sure that no similar legislation even came up for a vote in the four decades that followed.

A landmark 1976 Supreme Court case brought by lawyers for consumer-rights activist Ralph Nader gave corporations that owned drugstores a First Amendment right to inform consumers by advertising their prices. In the years that followed, lawyers for the protected morphed that consumer-rights victory into a corporate free-speech movement. The result has been court decisions allowing unlimited corporate money to overwhelm democratic elections and other rulings allowing corporations to challenge regulations related to basic consumer-protection issues, like product labeling.

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NETWORK

As government was disabled from delivering on vital issues, the protected were able to protect themselves still more. For them, it was all about building their own moats. Their money, their power, their lobbyists, their lawyers, their drive overwhelmed the institutions that were supposed to hold them accountable—government agencies, Congress, the courts.

There may be no more flagrant example of the achievers' triumph than how they were able to avoid accountability when the banks they ran crashed the economy. The CEOs had been able to get the courts to treat their corporations like people when it came to protecting the corporation's right to free speech. Yet after the crash, CEOs got prosecutors and judges to treat them like corporations when it came to personal responsibility. The corporate structures they had built were so massive and so complex that, the prosecutors decided, no senior executive could be proved to have known what was going on.

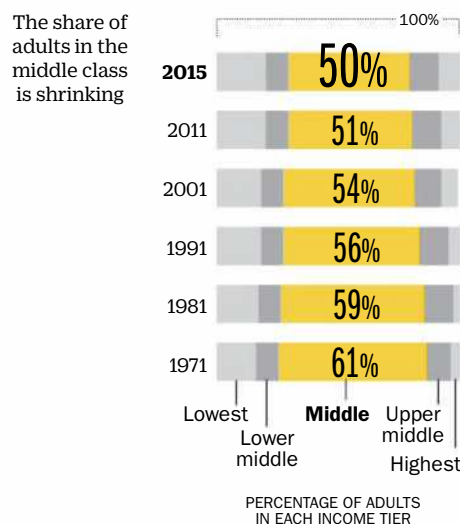
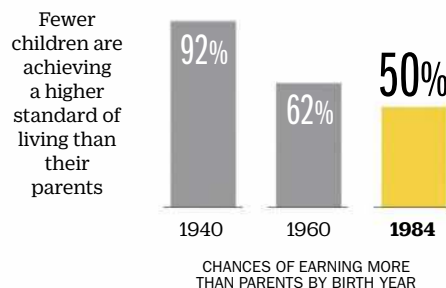
Meanwhile, the lobbyists for the big banks swarmed the often invisible process under which the thousands of pages of regulations were drafted to implement the Dodd-Frank financial-reform act, which was passed in 2010 to address the risks and regulatory gaps that precipitated the crash. As a result, about 30% of the 390 required regulations had not been promulgated as of mid-2016, according to the law firm Davis Polk. Under the Trump Administration and continued Republican control of Congress, efforts intensified to roll back the rules that were already in effect even as the big banks—which had argued that Dodd-Frank would kill their businesses—were enjoying record profits and market share.

It may be understandable for those on the losing side of this triumph of the achievers to condemn the winners as gluttons. That explanation, however, is too simple. Many of the protected class are people who have lived the kind of lives that all Americans celebrate. They worked hard. They innovated. They tried things that others wouldn't attempt. They believed, often correctly, that they were writing new chapters in the long story of American progress.

When they created ways to package mortgages into securities that could be resold to investors, for example, it was initially celebrated as a way to get more money into the mortgage pool, thereby making more mortgages available to the middle class. But by 2007 it had become far too much of a good thing. As the financial engineers continued to push the envelope with ever-riskier versions of the original invention, they crashed the economy.

Thus, the breakdown came when their intelligence, daring, creativity and resources enabled them to push aside any effort to rein them in. They did what comes naturally—they kept winning. And they did it with the protection of an alluring, defensible narrative that shielded them from pushback, at least initially. They won not with the brazen corruption of

## THE GROWING UNPROTECTED CLASS



SOURCES: ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE; DC BAR JOURNAL; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LAW PLACEMENT; NEW YORK TIMES; CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS; WINNER-TAKE-ALL POLITICS (2010), BY HACKER AND PIERSON; CENSUS; THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY PROJECT; PEW  
NOTES: ALL HISTORICAL FIGURES ARE INFLATION-ADJUSTED. CEO COMPENSATION IS THROUGH JUNE 2016 AND INCLUDES SALARY, BONUS, RESTRICTED STOCK GRANTS, OPTIONS EXERCISED AND LONG-TERM INCENTIVE PAYOUTS FOR CEOs AT THE TOP 350 U.S. FIRMS BY SALES.

the robber barons of old, but by drawing on the core values that have always defined American greatness.

They didn't do it cynically, at least not at first. They simply got really, really good at taking advantage of what the American system gave them and doing the kinds of things that America treasures in the name of the values that America treasures.

And they have invested their winnings not only to preserve their bounty, but also to root themselves and their offspring in a new meritocracy-aristocracy that is more entrenched than the old-boy network. Forty-eight years after Inky Clark gave me my ticket on the meritocracy express in 1967, a professor at Yale Law School jarred the school's graduation celebration. Daniel Markovits, who specializes in the intersection of law and behavioral economics, told the class of 2015 that their success getting accepted into, and getting a degree from, the country's most selective law school actually marked their entry into



a newly entrenched aristocracy that had been snuffing out the American Dream for almost everyone else. Elites, he explained, can spend what they need to in order to send their children to the best schools, provide tutors for standardized testing and otherwise ensure that their kids can outcompete their peers to secure the same spots at the top that their parents achieved.

“American meritocracy has thus become precisely what it was invented to combat,” Markovits concluded, “a mechanism for the dynastic transmission of wealth and privilege across generations. Meritocracy now constitutes a modern-day aristocracy.”

The frustrated, disillusioned Americans who voted for President Trump committed the ultimate act of rejecting the meritocrats—epitomized by the hardworking, always prepared, Yale Law-educated Hillary Clinton—in favor of an inexperienced, never-prepared, shoot-from-the-hip heir to a real estate fortune whose businesses had declared bankruptcy six times. He would “drain the swamp” in Washington, he promised. He would take the coal industry back to the greatness it had enjoyed 80 years before. He would rebuild the cities, block immigrants with a great wall, provide health care for all and make the country’s infrastructure the envy of the world, while cutting everyone’s taxes. Forty-six percent of those who voted figured that things were so bad, they might as well let him try.

## FIVE

IT SEEMS LIKE A GRIM STORY. EXCEPT THAT THE STORY ISN’T over. During the past two years, as I have discovered the people and forces behind the 50-year U.S. tailspin, I have also discovered that in every arena the meritocrats commandeered there are now equally talented, equally driven achievers who have grown so disgusted by what they see that they are pushing back.

From Baruch College in Manhattan to the University of California, Irvine, more colleges are working to break down the barriers of the newly entrenched meritocracy. Elite Eastern institutions such as Amherst, Vassar and Princeton are using aggressive outreach campaigns to attract applicants who might otherwise be unaware of the schools’ generous financial-aid packages.

Entrepreneurs like Jukay Hsu, a Harvard-educated Iraq War veteran who runs a nonprofit called C4Q out of a converted zipper factory in Queens, are making eye-opening progress with training programs aimed at lifting those displaced by automation or trade back into middle-class software-engineering jobs. “Some of the smartest, hardest-working people I’ve ever met were soldiers who didn’t graduate from college,” says Hsu. (Disclosure: I am an uncompensated board member of C4Q.)

Even Washington is poised to benefit from the new wave of achievers. Issue One, a nonprofit ensconced in an office on lobbyists’ row on K Street, is fighting for campaign-finance reforms and pushing legislation that would limit the influence of lobbyists by reining in their checkbooks. The group is supported by a growing band of disillusioned politicians from both parties. Better Markets, a well-funded lobbying organization that squares off against the usual lobbyists and is filled with people whose meritocracy credentials match those of their adversaries, is going after continuing abuses and lack of accountability on Wall Street. Two other organizations, the Bipartisan Policy Center and the

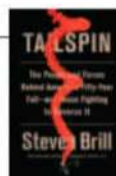


Partnership for Public Service, are preparing blueprints for civil-service reform, tax reform, better budgeting and contracting, and infrastructure investment—all of which can attract bipartisan support if and when our elected officials finally get pushed to act.

Although their work is often frustrating, the worsening status quo seems to energize those who are pushing back. “My kid complained the other day that he still couldn’t play the violin, even though he’d been practicing for two days,” says Max Stier, president of the Partnership for Public Service. “Well, yeah, that’s true, but you have to keep at it. Persistence is an underrated virtue.”

Stier and the others believe that the country will overrun the lobbyists and cross over the moats when enough Americans see that we need leaders who are prepared and intelligent, who can channel our frustration rather than exploit it, and who can unite the middle class and the poor rather than divide them. They are certain that when the country’s breakdown touches enough people directly and causes enough damage, the officeholders who depend on those people for their jobs will be forced to act.

The new achievers are doing what they do not because they are gluttons for frustration, but because they believe that America can be put back on the right course. They are laying the groundwork for the feeling of disgust to be channeled into a restoration. ▣



*Brill is the author of Tailspin, from which this article is adapted, out in May from Alfred A. Knopf*

# NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

10 young stars who are reshaping music,  
sports, fashion, politics and more



## MUSIC

### Ariana Grande

RAISING HER VOICE

By Sam Lansky

ARIANA GRANDE IS HAPPY, AND IT'S IMPORTANT to her that people know that. Still, it would be hard to miss her happiness on this sunny spring day at a ramshackle house in Beverly Hills. It beams out of her as she sprawls on the lawn, murmuring in baby talk to Toulouse, her rescue beagle-chihuahua, and it suffuses the way she vogues out of the house into the yard, spinning and twirling in a frilly gray tulle dress.

She has a lot of reasons to be happy. At 24, Grande is one of the biggest pop stars in the world, and she's coming out with new music two years after her last album, the blockbuster *Dangerous Woman*. Her latest single is called "No Tears Left to Cry." Going off the title, you'd expect a big torch ballad—she's run out of tears! Instead, it's a triumphant, '90s-house-inflected pop confection, part breathy vocals and part spunky, spoken-word playfulness. She chose it carefully: "The intro is slow, and then it picks up," she says. "And it's *about* picking things up."

Grande made a song about resilience because she has had to be resilient, in ways that are difficult to imagine, after a terrorist detonated a bomb outside her May 22, 2017, concert in Manchester, England, killing 22 people and leaving more than 500 injured. What happened is part of the song, but the song is not about what happened. Instead of being elegiac, it's joyful and lush, and Grande is proud of it, and of herself. "When I started to take care of myself more, then came balance, and freedom, and joy," she says. "It poured out into the music." In the video for the song, she's upside-down, the way life used to feel. "We've messed with the idea of not being able to find the ground again," she says, "because I feel like I'm finally landing back on my feet now."

**GRANDE IS PETITE**, with Kewpie-doll eyes and a wide, easy smile. She often wears her hair in a big ponytail, but today it is pulled back into an elaborate topknot, with little wisps of hair coming down behind her ears like a halo. When she talks, she is earnest and enthusiastic—you can hear her theater-kid roots.

Grande grew up in South Florida; her mom was the CEO of a communications company and her father a successful graphic designer. As







a child, she always wanted to perform. “I loved wearing Halloween masks in June and doing stand-up in my kitchen for my grandparents,” she says. She was precocious and driven. “My friend from preschool found a notebook that we must have written when we were 5 or 6 years old that was like, ‘What do you want to be when you grow up?’” she says. “Mine said, ‘I want to be on Nickelodeon and then I want to sing.’”

She performed in local theater, then on Broadway in the musical *13*. When she was 16, she was cast on the Nickelodeon show *Victorious*, which made her a star, though mostly with younger viewers, and she dabbled in bubblegum pop. She signed with Republic Records after the label’s chairman saw videos of her covering Whitney Houston and Adele on YouTube.

Her first official single, “The Way,” was released in 2013. It didn’t sound like the music she had recorded for Nickelodeon; it was breezy, catchy throwback soul, and it showed off her towering voice, which at times sounds almost instrumental. (Even die-hard fans have pointed out that, depending on how Grande sings, it can be hard to make out her lyrics—a critique she clearly takes in stride. At one point during our interview, after finishing a winding thought, she turned to me and asked, “Did I enunciate?” and then flashed a mischievous smile.)

Her first album, *Yours Truly*, debuted at No. 1 on the *Billboard* 200 and sold more than 500,000 copies worldwide, and her follow-ups, *My Everything* and *Dangerous Woman*, did even better. She released a string of chart-topping collaborations, including “Problem” (featuring Iggy Azalea), “Love Me Harder” (featuring the Weeknd) and “Side to Side” (featuring Nicki Minaj). She toured the world. Got labeled a diva, as happens to pretty much all women in music. Became the third most followed person on Instagram. It was a lot to handle, even though she had wanted success. “There was an adjustment period, because my life changed drastically,” she says. She has settled into it by now. “If I want to go out, then I’m going to go out as Ariana Grande and be O.K. with it,” she says. “If I’m feeling less O.K., I’ll probably stay in bed and watch *Grey’s Anatomy*.”

**EVERYTHING WAS DIFFERENT**, Grande says, when she was making her new album. First off,

she took the lead on writing songs, which she had never really done before. “I was just so excited about singing,” she says of her previous efforts. “So I co-wrote, but I was never as involved.” She was also vocal with her producers—namely Max Martin, Savan Kotecha and Pharrell Williams, three of the most reliable hitmakers in music—about experimenting with her sound. “There was nothing I wouldn’t try,” she says. She told Williams she wanted to “make the weirdest thing we can first.” There are several moments on the record—both on the lead single and on an anthemic, sultry banger called “God Is a Woman”—in which Grande’s voice is layered so that it sounds like a choir, but really, it’s only her, multiplied. On another song, “Get Well Soon,”

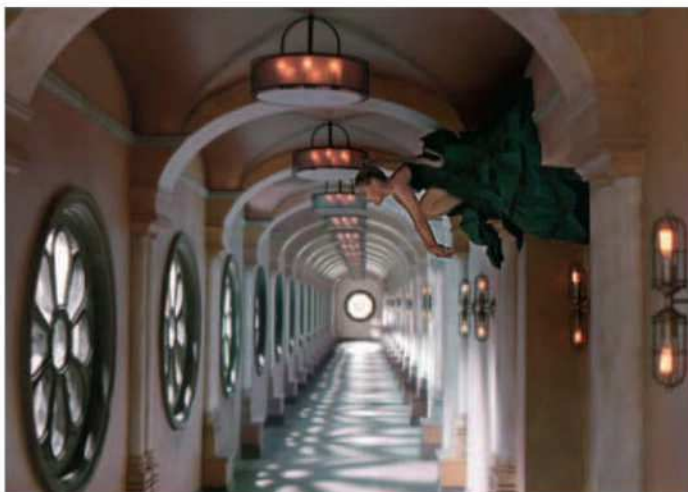
her vocals are interwoven in dense layers of sound, creating an otherworldly effect. “It’s like I’m talking to all of my thoughts in my head,” she says, “and they’re singing back to me.”

Grande credits this newfound creative freedom to the work she has done to heal herself. “I felt more inclined to tap into my feelings because I was spending more time with them,” she says. “I was talking about them more. I was in therapy more.”

Although she had struggled with anxiety in the past, she says, “I never opened up about it, because I thought that was how life was supposed to feel.” What, specifically, was making her anxious? She shakes her head. It’s hard to talk about.

**HERE’S WHAT SCOOTER BRAUN**, Grande’s manager, tells me about what happened last summer, after the terrorist attack in Manchester. Grande had flown home to stay at her grandmother’s house in Boca Raton, Fla., and Braun met her there, where he asked her to do something that, he says, he knew at the time was unfair. “I said, ‘We need to get a concert and get back out there.’ She looked at me like I was insane. She said, ‘I can never sing these songs again. I can’t put on these outfits. Don’t put me in this position.’” They decided to cancel the rest of the tour.

Two days later, Braun was on a flight, and he landed to find 16 text messages from Grande saying, “Call me. I need to speak to you.” When they finally spoke, she said, “If I don’t



#### SHIFTING PERSPECTIVE

*In the music video for “No Tears Left to Cry,” Grande is often upside-down, meant to evoke the way her life has felt at times—though ultimately, she lands on her feet*



do something, these people died in vain.” They decided to put on a concert in Manchester to benefit the families that were affected.

The minute they arrived, just days after the bombing, they set out to help. They went to the hospital and sat with survivors. They met with families of the deceased. As the concert loomed, they began to worry that people would be too afraid to show up.

But more than 50,000 people turned out. A dozen other artists—including Justin Bieber, Coldplay and Katy Perry—flew in to perform. Grande closed the night with a performance of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow,” with tears streaming down her face. The show, called One Love Manchester, was broadcast live on British TV and streamed all over the world, alongside information about how to donate; it helped raise over \$12 million for victims of the bombing and their families. The city of Manchester named Grande an honorary citizen, citing her “great many selfless acts and demonstrations of community spirit.”

“We put a lot on her shoulders,” Braun says. “And she took over. You know, for the rest of her life, she can say that she is exactly who she claims to be.”

**SO THAT’S WHAT HAPPENED.** After the Manchester show, Grande finished the tour. And then she went dark for a while.

Grande had built a career on the fizzy, ebullient joy of music as escape: the spine-tingling voice, the thrilling live shows, the polished music videos. Now, even though she had nothing to do with the attack, she had become central to the narrative in a way that made it inexorable. And yet what had she really lost, compared with so many others? People had lost children, parents, partners, friends. To make art that was explicitly about it would look exploitative. But to ignore it would be disingenuous.

She knows I am going to ask her about this before I have even said the words. She can see it in my eyes, and I can see it in hers, and she begins to cry—not graceful tears, but deep, choking sobs. “I’m sorry,” she says. “I’ll do my best.”

Slowly, she starts to elaborate: “There are so many people who have suffered such loss

and pain.” Her own grief feels both enormous and insignificant. “The processing part is going to take forever,” she says, and sobs again. She doesn’t want to talk about the attack. “I don’t want to give it that much power,” she says. “Something so negative. It’s the absolute worst of humanity. That’s why I did my best to react the way I did. The last thing I would ever want is for my fans to see something like that happen and think it won.”

“Music is supposed to be the safest thing in the world,” she continues. “I think that’s why it’s still so heavy on my heart every single day.” She takes a deep breath. “I wish there was more that I could fix. You think with time it’ll become easier to talk about. Or you’ll make peace with it. But every day I wait for that peace to come and it’s

still very painful.” There is no tidy resolution. There is no why. It just happened. Grande looks up at the sky. “I’m sorry,” she says again. “What was the question?”



↑↑  
**TAKING  
A STAND**

*Grande’s One Love Manchester benefit concert, which took place on June 4, helped raise more than \$12 million for victims of the bombing and their families*

**THE BEE** has been a symbol of Manchester for years; it’s a nod to the city’s hardworking citizens, the worker bees who built up the region during the Industrial Revolution. After the attack, thousands of people in Manchester got bee tattoos. So did Grande and members of her crew. Now she sees

bees everywhere. There’s one at the very end of the video for “No Tears Left to Cry,” in the final frame, buzzing away.

It’s part of how she carries what happened in Manchester with her. She performed at the Charlottesville, Va., unity concert as well as the March For Our Lives rally in Washington, D.C., and she met with some of the survivors of the Parkland, Fla., shooting. “They’re so young but so brilliant and so strong,” she says. “We had a lot to talk about with what we’ve both been through.”

Her new album, Grande says, is called *Sweetener*. She decided to call it that because that’s the message she wanted to give to her fans: that you can take a bad situation and make it better. “When you’re handed a challenge,” she says, “instead of sitting there and complaining about it, why not try to make something beautiful?”

That sentiment hits home for Grande as well. “I’m happy,” she says, and tears spill out of her eyes again. She wipes them away. “I’m crying,” she says, “but I’m happy.” □

SPORTS

## Chris Long

*Giving his all*

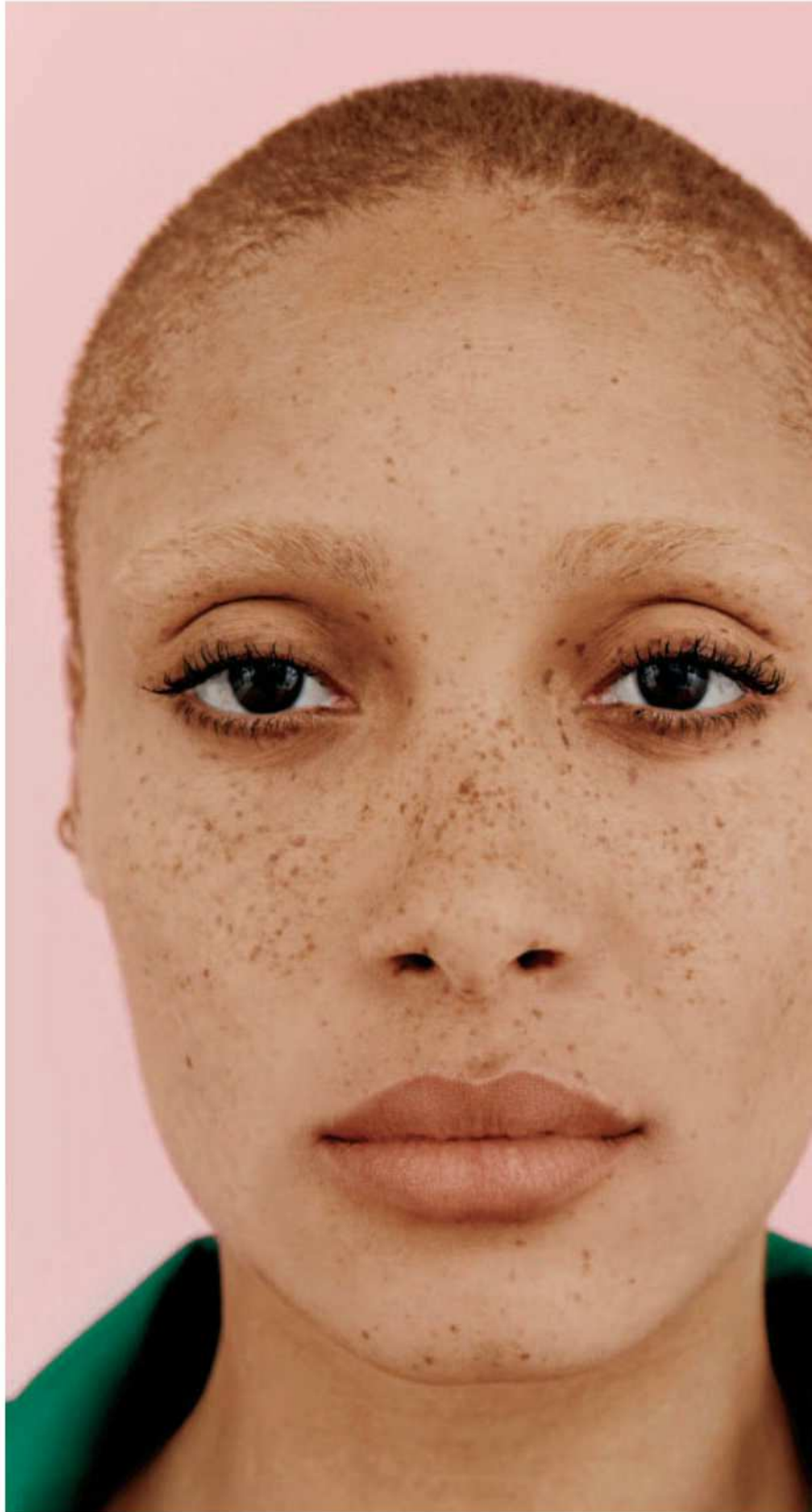
Last season, Chris Long made football history by winning a Super Bowl while playing for free. The Philadelphia Eagles defensive lineman donated his entire 2017 base salary of \$1 million to charity: his first six checks went toward scholarships for students in his hometown of Charlottesville, Va. His final 10 checks supported educational equity organizations in the three cities where he has played professionally: St. Louis, Boston and Philadelphia.

Long, 33, has always aspired to be more than just a football player, even as he remains a key part of one of the NFL's best pass-rushing teams. "I want to squeeze every drop out of my potential," he says, "as far as affecting the world around me." To that end, he has helped raise some \$2 million to build 34 water wells serving more than 130,000 people in Tanzania. And when Eagles teammate Malcolm Jenkins raised a fist during the national anthem to protest racial inequality, Long placed a hand on his shoulder in support. "It's important that people know that white people care too," Long says. "What we're talking about is comprehensive injustice and inequality in America, which is undeniable to me."

Long has decided to return for what will be his 11th NFL season—but his legacy may well last long after his time on the field. While working out in a Charlottesville gym in March, a stranger told Long that he had donated a month's pay to the United Way. If you can do it, the man said to Long, so can I. —Sean Gregory



LONG: BARRETT EMIKE FOR TIME; HOU: TIM FRANCO FOR TIME



PHOTOGRAPH BY AGNES LLOYD-PLATT FOR TIME



## FASHION

# Adwoa Aboah

## FASHION'S NEW FACE

WITH HER SHAVED HEAD, FRECKLES AND jeweled tooth, Adwoa Aboah doesn't look like most of the supermodels who came before her. And yet since her November debut on the cover of British *Vogue* (the first issue under the publication's first black editor, Edward Enninful), Aboah, 25, has assembled a list of accomplishments that places her firmly in their ranks. She has fronted campaigns for major brands, such as Chanel, Burberry and Revlon. She has won awards, including the British Fashion Council's highly coveted Model of the Year (a designation previously given to Kate Moss, among others). And in May, she appeared at the Met Gala alongside icons like Donatella Versace and Cindy Crawford.

Growing up in London, Aboah, whose father is Ghanian, says she thought the fashion industry "had no room" for girls like her. Now she's redefining what's in vogue. "I put so many limitations on myself," she says. "Now I set absolutely no boundaries."

It wasn't an easy path. As a teenager, Aboah was uncomfortable in her own skin, and she developed severe anxiety and depression. "I was completely consumed by fear," she says. She turned to drugs, specifically ketamine, to cope. Left unchecked, those issues followed her into adulthood. "I had no concept of how to talk openly about [what I was going through]," she says. "So I stopped speaking, and I stopped feeling." In 2015, just as her modeling career was taking off, she fell into a four-day coma after a failed suicide attempt.

Once Aboah entered treatment, however, she discovered the power of therapy: "Having a frank conversation about what's going on in your life helps you stop feeling alone." She went on to co-found Gurls Talk, an organization that aims to create spaces for women to come together, both online and in person, to discuss mental health, body image and sexuality. Now Aboah, whose Instagram page lists her as an activist first and model second, plans to bring Gurls Talk to Ghana; she also hopes to break into acting at some point. "I don't think there will ever be a moment where I am finished." —TARA JOHN

There is more than one way to be beautiful and cool,' Aboah has said of reshaping traditional beauty standards



## CHESS

# Hou Yifan

## Blazing a trail

Hou Yifan's favorite chess piece is not the mighty queen but the humble pawn. "When the pawn gets to the other side, it can become anything except the king," says the woman who at 14 became the game's youngest female grand master and at 16 its youngest women's world champion. "To me it shows that regardless of your background, if you stick to your goals and strive, eventually you will become a better version of yourself."

Hou, now 24, remains the world's greatest female chess player—she has won multiple world titles since graduating from high school—and is also an accomplished student; she holds a degree in international relations from Beijing's prestigious Peking University and is pursuing a master's degree in public policy at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. That a child prodigy chose not to dedicate herself full time to the game bewildered her coach and the wider chess community.

But Hou has always forged her own way. In February, she made headlines for forfeiting her final-round match at a chess tournament in Gibraltar because she was being paired against more women than men—a system that she, and others, felt was sexist. "Maybe it was not polite to my opponents, but at that moment I thought it was the only way to bring attention to the system," she says, shrugging.

For Hou, the best way to bring about broader change is to focus on your own self-improvement—much like the pawn. "You have to be the hero of yourself," she says. —Charlie Campbell

## THEATER

# Anthony Boyle

## Taking the stage

Anthony Boyle's mom says she knew he was going to be a star from the first moment she saw him onstage. It took Boyle a little longer to figure it out for himself.

Growing up in west Belfast, Boyle struggled to find an outlet for his creative energy, so much so that he got expelled from school. "I had so many ideas and so many things that I wanted to do," he says.

Eventually, he settled on theater. Despite appearing in what he describes as some of the "worst plays imaginable" while he was a struggling actor, Boyle was recruited by the prestigious Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama at age 19. He spent nearly three years honing his craft before getting the part that would change his life: playing Draco Malfoy's son Scorpius in *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child*, a two-part play set 19 years after the events of J.K. Rowling's seven-book series. "I think Scorpius is one of the most beautiful characters written in the last 25 years," he says.

From London's West End to Broadway—*Cursed* began its sold-out New York run in April—Boyle is now being hailed as one of theater's most promising talents. The 23-year-old, who has already won an Olivier Award for playing Scorpius, was recently nominated for a Tony Award alongside

established actors like Nathan Lane.

"They're people I've looked up to forever," he says. "It just feels like a dream." —Megan McCluskey



## BOOKS

# Farida Ado

## KANO'S JANE AUSTEN

AS IN THE REGENCY-ERA ENGLAND OF JANE AUSTEN'S novels, women in the city of Kano in northern Nigeria are on the cusp of radical social changes, as globalized development pulls against conservative Islamic traditions. To help make sense of changing times, many are turning to romance novels, or *littattafan soyayya* (literally, "books of love"). The cheap and locally produced paperbacks, sold from tiny storefronts throughout Kano's street markets, are a popular diversion for women of all classes and education levels.

Leading this trend is Farida Ado, 32, the Hausa-language author of six books featuring forbidden romance, polygamy and intergenerational drama. "Women turn to romance novels to figure out how to live their own lives," she says.





More chaste Mills & Boon than *Fifty Shades*, Ado's novels reflect the daily concerns and preoccupations of her contemporaries: how to get along with the multiple stepsiblings from your father's several wives; how to deal with a new, younger wife in your home; how to maintain family harmony while striving for independence; and what to do (or not do) about a husband's infidelity. The novels are prescriptive on purpose, says Ado. "Every positive example [the reader] gets on how to solve her problems is a plus to society."

Her recent series, *The Block of Ashes*, was inspired by a neighbor who went to a Nigerian juju priest hoping dark magic could help with her marital problems, to devastating results. "I try to reflect the reality of society in my stories," she says. "These juju doctors had become a menace in many homes."

Ado's books, printed locally on cheap pulp, are not likely to be translated into English anytime soon. But to Nigeria's Hausa-speaking population of 30 million, Kano's Jane Austen has many more stories to tell. —ARYN BAKER



## ENVIRONMENT

# Kerstin Forsberg

*Fighting to save our oceans*

It all began with an after-school group. Dissatisfied with how students seemed unimpressed by the small on-site zoo at her school in Lima, Kerstin Forsberg started a nature club to engage her peers and teachers. She was 9 years old.

Now 33, Forsberg is still devoting her life to creatures in need of attention. But her new club has a bit more clout: Planeta Océano, a volunteer-heavy NGO, aims to empower and educate coastal communities about their local marine environment, with a particular eye toward conserving northern Peru's giant manta rays. "What really caught my attention was their vulnerability," says Forsberg, pointing out that the mantas reproduce at the slow rate of one pup every two to seven years. "They were being eaten and sold, and no one cared. This iconic, majestic species was completely disregarded."

Forsberg's team developed a campaign to acquire legal protection for the mantas, which involved door-to-door canvassing and months of meetings with various authorities. After two years, the government finally took her proposals on board. "Conservation is a long-term commitment," she says. "It's impossible to solve an environmental issue or challenge in a day. It takes a lot of time, effort, resources, commitment and perseverance. That's what drives us forward." —Kate Samuelson

MUSIC

# The Weeknd

PRINCE OF POP

CALABASAS, CALIF., IS WHERE CELEBRITIES GO TO hide, which is exactly why Abel Tesfaye moved there last year, to a bright and airy home in nearby Hidden Hills, where his neighbors include Drake and Kim Kardashian West. The house isn't fully settled—plaques need to be hung and a wine refrigerator is not yet fully stocked, though there is a marble bust of what appears to be his own head in a corner. He likes it here, especially compared with Beverly Hills, where he felt too exposed. “I don’t think I could ever do that again,” he says. “I always feel like someone’s watching me.”

Tesfaye, better known to the public as the Weeknd, has made a career out of hiding in plain sight. When he began releasing music in 2010, he kept his persona intentionally vague, building buzz primarily via the Internet; fans grew to love him without knowing if he was a band or a solo singer. Now Tesfaye is a budding superstar, with a string of No. 1 hits (“The Hills,” “Can’t Feel My Face,” “Starboy”) and a new album, *My Dear Melancholy*, that tallied more than 25 million streams on Spotify and Apple Music, respectively, during its first 24 hours of release—among the best digital debuts of all time. In April, he headlined Coachella, opposite Beyoncé.

Yet as ubiquitous as he may now be, if you feel like you don’t really know the Weeknd, you’re not alone. He rarely grants interviews (his last was in November 2016), though that enigmatic tendency is born largely out of nervousness. “I think I would puke,” he says, if ever forced to do a live TV interview. And he almost never talks about his personal life, though it’s easy to find paparazzi photos of him with women he has dated, like the actor and singer Selena Gomez and the supermodel Bella Hadid.

But in his music, Tesfaye tends to lay himself bare, serving up moody odes to love, drugs and sex. (“I only love it when you touch me, not feel me/ When I’m f-cked up, that’s the real me,” he sings on “The Hills.”) The songs are very good, with heavy, infectious beats and indelible hooks that exist in a space somewhere between R&B and pop. Tesfaye believes the songs resonate with millennials, in particular, as they navigate the first emotional turns into adulthood. Which makes sense, given that Tesfaye himself is 28. “The definition of the love we feel, or what kids and 20- and 18-year-olds are going through,” he says. “That music is special, and I feel like it’s what people need.”



**In April,  
the Weeknd  
headlined  
Coachella,  
opposite  
Beyoncé**

**BORN IN TORONTO** to Ethiopian immigrants, Tesfaye was raised primarily by his mother and grandmother. He dropped out of school when he was 17 and spent the next few years the way you imagine a teenager with no adult supervision might: drugs, shoplifting, quasi-homelessness. Between all that, he was also making music. “I’m not trying to inspire people to drop out of school or leave home at 16 or 17,” he says. “It’s just something that—it’s who I am.”

In 2015, he released *Beauty Behind the Madness*, which sold 2 million copies and won a Grammy; “Earned It,” his lead single off the *Fifty Shades of Grey* soundtrack, was nominated for an Oscar for Best Original Song. “I think the stars definitely did align for me,” he says. “Even though we put a lot of hard work into it, I just feel like it was right place, right time.” The following year, his third album, *Starboy*, debuted at No. 1, eventually going double platinum.

Tesfaye’s latest EP, *My Dear Melancholy*, was almost immediately dubbed his “breakup album”—both because it was released several months after he and Gomez reportedly ended their relationship and because it includes some of his darkest songs yet, with titles like “Wasted Times” and “Hurt You.” He is cagey about particulars: “I don’t want to open that Pandora’s box, talking about relationships.” But he does admit that he’s single (“without a doubt”) and that recording the album was cathartic. “It’s therapeutic,” Tesfaye says. “You want to get it out. It’s like you close a chapter.”

The chapter almost stayed open, though. “Prior to *Melancholy*, I had a whole album written, done,” Tesfaye says. “Which wasn’t melancholy at all because it was a different time in my life.” I ask if that album, presumably recorded while he was still with Gomez, was more upbeat. “Yeah,” he says. “It was very upbeat—it was beautiful.” But he scrapped the project because he’s moved past that part of his life. “I don’t want to perform something that I don’t feel,” he says. Will we ever hear it? “Never,” he insists.

**LATE IN THE AFTERNOON**, I ask about the two identical white doghouses sitting against the main house. Tesfaye smiles proudly before asking if I like dogs, and summons out his two Doberman pinscher puppies, Caesar and Julius. He demonstrates how well trained they are and boasts that eventually they’ll be twice the size they are now. They know how to swim, he says, but he’s working on teaching them how to get out of the pool. In that moment, he’s a man relaxing with his dogs on lazy spring day. The Weeknd’s veil of mystery may never be completely lifted, but a peek behind lets you see plenty. —KARA BROWN







## ACTIVISM

# Sonita Alizadeh

## Rapping for freedom

The first time Sonita Alizadeh wore a wedding dress, it wasn't for the arranged marriage she thought awaited her in theocratic Iran. Instead, it was for a music video.

At 17, Alizadeh recorded "Daughters for Sale," a rap song she wrote after learning her family intended to sell her into marriage for \$9,000. The song—with lyrics like "I scream to make up for a woman's lifetime of silence"—became an anthem in Afghanistan and elsewhere against the child-bride tradition. After the video garnered international attention, Alizadeh won a full scholarship to a music school in the U.S. Since then, Alizadeh, now 21, has emerged as one of her culture's most powerful voices for women's empowerment—not just through music, but through writing (she co-authored a curriculum on child marriage that has reached some 1.5 million high school students) and speaking (she has addressed events like the World Bank's Fragility Forum).

But there was a time when Alizadeh feared that her voice would never be heard. Her family fled to Iran from their native Afghanistan when she was 6, and she grew up as an undocumented refugee and a child laborer. "I saw my friends being beaten because they said no to child marriage," Alizadeh says. She started writing pop songs but found she had "too much to say," so she switched to rap after listening to artists like Eminem. The memories of her friends back in Iran still motivate her activism today. "I want to help them achieve their dreams, to realize they have the power to be who they want to be," she says. —*Flora Carr*

## POLITICS

# Kevin Kühnert

## LIFE OF THE PARTY

IN HIS HOODIE AND LOOSE-FITTING JEANS, Kevin Kühnert doesn't seem like he would be a nemesis for German Chancellor Angela Merkel. But this spring, the 28-year-old—dubbed *Milchgesicht* ("Baby Face") by German tabloids—nearly managed to topple Europe's most powerful leader.

Kühnert first rose to prominence last November, when he was elected to run the Social Democratic Party (SPD) youth wing, a position that has long been a springboard into government. Soon after, the SPD—which had recently suffered a disastrous election result—broke its promise to lead the left-wing opposition and instead agreed to join the government of its conservative rival, Merkel. "They lost touch with our principles," Kühnert says. Instead of clinging to power as Merkel's junior partner in a coalition government, the SPD should return to its left-wing roots and lead a proper defense of refugees, employment rights and the welfare system, Kühnert argues.

"So we launched a resistance," he says. For weeks Kühnert traveled the country urging party members to reject the colorless centrism of the coalition government. In the end, the young activist failed to get enough support; 66% of SPD members voted to back the "grand coalition." Nonetheless, he kick-started a national debate—both about the future of the SPD, which has lost more than half its members since 1990, and about the future of German politics in general—that rages on to this day.

In the wake of Kühnert's defeat, some supporters have suggested he abandon the SPD to start a new political group. But for now, at least, he remains committed to serving the party he joined at age 15, albeit in his own way. "What we need," Kühnert says, "is to remember what we stand for."

—SIMON SHUSTER





# Time Off



**JOIN THE CLUB**  
Four screen icons  
discuss their new  
comedy, *Book  
Club*—and much  
more—over tea  
and macarons



## INSIDE

NEWLYWEDS ARE AT AGONIZING  
ODDS IN THE FILM VERSION OF  
ON CHESIL BEACH

ETHAN HAWKE IS EMINENTLY  
WATCHABLE AS A PASTOR IN  
EXISTENTIAL CRISIS

AUSSIE MUSICIAN COURTNEY  
BARNETT IS THE BEST THING  
INDIE ROCK HAS GOING FOR IT

# TimeOff Opener

## MOVIES

### For this *Book Club*, only icons need apply

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

**C**ANDICE BERGEN IS PROBABLY ONLY HALF kidding when she says that *Book Club*, the new movie in which she stars with Jane Fonda, Diane Keaton and Mary Steenburgen, is about “glamorous geezers having sex.” Sure, the plot revolves around four older women reading *Fifty Shades of Grey*, and that does precipitate a little over-70 sex (and a lot of talking about it).

But the male love interests here (Richard Dreyfuss, Don Johnson, Andy Garcia and Craig T. Nelson) are supporting players—comic foils for funny, sexy women. There’s plenty of over-the-top romance, and most of the expected boxes get checked. (Almost everyone couples up in the end.) The heart of the story, though, is about friendship—both onscreen and off.

From the minute these four women walk into the garden at the Four Seasons Beverly Hills for tea and tiny macarons, it’s obvious they really like one another. This is the first time any of them have worked together, but it seems as if they, like their characters, have known one another for ages. Or so we want to believe. With people who have been so famous for so long, the lines between the individuals and their roles inevitably blur.

That’s especially true with this movie. The production budget was so small that some of the clothing the actors wear is their own, from Keaton’s wide belts to Fonda’s slim pantsuits. Co-producers and writers Erin Simms and Bill Holderman (who also directed) wrote one character with Keaton in mind and revised another for Fonda, after she deemed the original script too simplistic.

The filmmakers were also advised to cast younger “older” women—all the leads but Steenburgen are over 70. They wisely declined and ended up with a roster of icons with four Oscars and six Emmys between them. Despite all that talent, they had to finance the film independently before it was acquired for distribution.

It’s different when the stars are men. There are ample parts in blockbusters and buddy movies for older dudes, grumpy and otherwise. And while it’s noteworthy when four women over 60 lead a movie, no one marvels at seeing 63-year-old Denzel Washington as an action hero in the upcoming *The Equalizer 2* or 65-year-old Jeff Goldblum in this summer’s *Jurassic World* sequel.

It’s doubtful that either of those men had to borrow from their own closets, but watching the stars of *Book Club* cracking jokes over tea, it’s hard not to think that it might be the action heroes who are missing out.

**“WHO WANTS PEPPERMINT? Jane, give me your cup.”** Bergen takes the lead at tea, and within 15 minutes, the women have covered subjects including sex, sexism,



*A toast to the sisterhood of badass older ladies in Book Club*

**‘It’s always been the woman’s disadvantage to be older, never the man’s.’**

JANE FONDA,  
star of *Book Club*

loss, aging, feeling invisible as an older person and making new friends when everyone already knows your name.

“It’s always been the woman’s disadvantage to be older, never the man’s,” says Fonda. But how is it to age in Hollywood’s fickle climate? Did they ever grieve the loss of attention?

“Once I turned 40, I was like, ‘Hey, hey!’” says Bergen, waving her arms. “And now at almost 72, I don’t even expect anyone to acknowledge my presence.”

“She’s right,” says Keaton.

“But I love being invisible,” Fonda says. “I can go anywhere.”

The whole table turns to her, incredulous. But Fonda insists she can go to a grocery store unnoticed, without wearing a disguise.

“If you just move through life in a certain way, people don’t pay any attention,” she says.

Everyone digests this silently for a few seconds. Then Bergen says quietly, “Well ... I did have a tiiiiny, tiiiiny





moment of grief." Her timing is exquisite, cracking everyone up. She explains that after her hit 1990s show, *Murphy Brown*, ended, she had to get used to spelling her name for a restaurant reservation.

All the women say they're grateful to still be working actors, not least of all on a film relevant to their demographic—one that's pitifully underserved. "That this movie was made at all is a miracle," says Bergen. "A miracle," agrees Keaton.

Fonda says she never expected to be going to a set every day at 80. And it's true: just by being here in the spotlight, they have already defied the special laws of gravity that govern women in Hollywood. Survival is success.

At one point, Keaton interjects to marvel that the four of them have only now found one another. "I just didn't know how hilarious these women were or how we could have this kind of a conversation!" She gestures in a Keatonian way, "I mean, oh my God!"

There's always an element of both

## Women's history

*Book Club* is not the first time these actors have taken on roles that explore the complicated choices women face at work, in relationships and as mothers. Here are four of their most memorable roles.

### FONDA FIGHTS WORKPLACE HARASSMENT IN *9 TO 5*

She starred with Dolly Parton and Lily Tomlin in this 1980 comedy about a trio of fed-up worker bees battling a chauvinistic boss. Given the ongoing relevance of its themes, it's not surprising there's talk of a reboot.



### KEATON DOES DEADLINES AND DIAPERS IN *BABY BOOM*

The actor earned a Golden Globe nomination for

this 1987 film, in which she plays a consultant whose professional goals are derailed by the unwelcome news that she's inherited an orphaned infant.

### BERGEN'S MURPHY BROWN BECOMES A FEMINIST ICON

Bergen starred as a journalist in this sitcom, which ran for 10 seasons beginning in 1988; her character's decision to raise a child alone sparked a national political debate over single motherhood.



### STEENBURGEN'S REBEL WIFE IN *MELVIN AND HOWARD*

The actor won an Oscar for her role as Lynda Dummar, a woman who dumps her spendthrift husband in this quirky 1980 comedy.

delight and caution in finding new friends later in life, and it's surely more complicated for celebrities. Steenburgen says actors are often surprisingly reticent about meeting new people or even going to parties. But she adds, "I actually want to be braver about everything, including friendships.

**SOME SUBJECTS** the film touches upon—life after retirement, relationships with adult children and the ability to live independently—are serious. And yet the movie is light. The women date and find love. They eat ice cream. *Book Club* is not so different from younger girlfriend comedies like *Girls Trip* or *Bridesmaids*. And it could find a millennial audience, like Fonda's Netflix series *Grace and Frankie*, whose young fans (like Miley Cyrus) post about how they're "STOKED" for the next season. Clearly, badass older ladies are having a moment. Just ask Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg or Joan Didion or Congresswoman Maxine Waters.

Maybe they never went out of fashion. Fonda recalls filming the 1981 drama *On Golden Pond*, in which she starred alongside her father. She was fixing her hair in the mirror when the legendarily stylish Katharine Hepburn, then 74, took her cheek and asked, "What does this mean to you?" (Fonda does a very good Hepburn.) "This is your box. This is how you are presented to the world." Confused at first, she realized Hepburn was annoyed that she wasn't paying attention to her style, to what she was saying with her look. Fonda says she did start paying attention, and she hired a stylist.

She and her co-stars are certainly conscious of how they're perceived, but part of their appeal is that they don't seem self-conscious in the corrosive way that younger women can be. They make 70 look like the year women are liberated from all that idiocy. If that's not true, and they actually spend their nights fretting about wrinkles and the state of their upper arms, then maybe we'd rather not know. Let's just go with this movie fantasy, in which women get to march into old age with a posse of hilarious friends, a fierce wardrobe and as much sex as they can handle. □



Ronan and Howle play newlyweds with an agonizing disconnect

## MOVIES

### Love without lust in *Chesil Beach*

By Stephanie Zacharek

THERE'S NOTHING SADDER THAN A couple who can't talk things through, and it's particularly wrenching to watch young people struggle with the dance steps of this elusive life skill. In Dominic Cooke's contemplative drama *On Chesil Beach*, the young people in question are Florence (Saoirse Ronan) and Edward (Billy Howle), a newly minted husband and wife attempting a honeymoon by the seaside in 1962 England. Edward is eager but nervous—the whole removing-the-stockings thing is so foreign to him, it may as well be a Martian ritual. Florence loves him, but cringes at the very idea of being touched—in flashback we see her reading one of the era's typically businesslike sex manuals and blanching at the word *penetration*. What will become of these two? Will they ever get it together and get it on?

That's the major dramatic question of *On Chesil Beach*, adapted with care by Ian McEwan from his 2007 novel. The story accepts from the start England's stereotypical reputation of the time as a hotbed—or a cold one?—of sexual

repression. But this isn't a story about preconceptions. It's about people, and its true secret weapon is its actors.

The duo's history unfolds in dovetailing flashbacks: Edward is a bookish kid from a troubled middle-class family; his mother (Anne-Marie Duff) suffers from the repercussions of an accidental brain trauma. Edward is a vessel of confused longing, anxious to do the right thing but curtailed by his own frustration and subterranean anger. Florence, an accomplished violinist, squirms under the gaze of her icy, snobbish mother (Emily Watson). Florence isn't tormented by her jitters; she merely lives with them, and that's a hundred times worse. Her radiance is heart-stopping—it just doesn't translate into sexual desire.

Together, Howle and Ronan—both of whom also appear in Michael Mayer's recently released adaptation of *The Seagull*—make a bumpy contour map of the way society's mores, plus basic personal fears, can really do a number on a human's expectations of romantic partnership. The film ends with a syrupy coda that betrays its earlier subtlety. But Ronan and Howle are the keepers of its true spirit. Florence and Edward are players in a missed connection that nevertheless connects them forever. □

## MOVIES

### From existential crisis to hope in *First Reformed*

Feeling down about dying polar bears, deforestation and the state of the world in general? Paul Schrader's beautiful, bruising *First Reformed* is the movie for you. Ethan Hawke is superb as Toller, an ex-military chaplain reckoning with a painful past. He's been made the pastor of a tiny, historic church in upstate New York, which should be a balm for him. But even though he spends his days trying hard to do the Lord's work—extending particular kindness to an anxious young wife and mother-to-be, played with tremulous sensitivity by Amanda Seyfried—his nights become intense sessions of journal keeping and destructive drinking.

With *First Reformed*, Schrader—famously, the writer of *Taxi Driver*, though as a director he's given us his share of terrific, sometimes underappreciated pictures like *Forever Mine* and *Patty Hearst*—has made a fine existential-crisis movie. And for all its serious intent, it isn't torture to watch. Part of the movie's understated triumph lies in its casting: Hawke is an actor who clearly cares, and worries, a lot—the tree of life is practically etched into his forehead. As the hyper-conscientious Toller, he conveys both the selfishness and the true anguish of people who just can't let go of their own pain. But he also offers a shred of hope in the idea that in the end, caring too much might be just the thing that saves us. —S.Z.





**POP CHART**  
TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE  
ON WHAT POPPED IN  
CULTURE



**Black Panther** star Chadwick Boseman delivered a rousing commencement speech at Howard University in which he praised students at his alma mater for their on-campus activism.

Actor Benedict Cumberbatch has pledged to refuse roles in any project for which his female co-stars wouldn't receive equal pay.

Rihanna launched a new inclusive lingerie collection, Savage x Fenty, featuring 36 different sizes and 90 different styles.

**LOVE IT  
LEAVE IT**



Who Wants to Be a Millionaire U.K. host Jeremy Clarkson accidentally told a contestant who had gotten a question wrong that he had answered correctly, leading to an awkward £15,000 loss.

**MUSIC**

## Courtney Barnett is indie rock's shining light

WHEN THE GRAMMY NOMINEES FOR BEST New Artist were announced for 2016, alongside mega pop star (and eventual winner) Meghan Trainor was the Australian indie rocker Courtney Barnett. The nomination came, seemingly, out of nowhere, but clearly enough of the right people were paying attention. Barnett's 2015 debut album, *Sometimes I Sit and Think, and Sometimes I Just Sit*, was a satisfying throwback to '90s slackerdom inflected with crunchy guitars. On it, she riffed on mundane scenes—like shopping for organic produce, lying awake with insomnia and house-hunting in the suburbs—with a fiery rock-'n'-roll energy.

Barnett's latest, *Tell Me How You Really Feel* (out May 18), continues down that path. Her guitar is still a focal point, but in these arrangements she and her band experiment with tempos in new and surprising ways. Throughout the album's 10 tracks, Barnett, 30, has traded in her casual observations of everyday life for something more introspective, and it suits her well. On *Sometimes I Sit*, she often sounded like she was speaking her stream of consciousness aloud instead of singing. Here, she sounds like she's having a conversation with some-



Barnett, who illustrated the cover of her first album, used a Polaroid self-portrait for her latest release.

one who's royally peeved her. In other words, she's more content to, well, tell us how she really feels.

On the slow-burn opener "Hopefulness," she describes a scene littered with "empty bottle blues" and people sleeping in different rooms, her disdain for their malaise dripping palpably off the notes. On "Charity," she assumes an accusatory tone, singing, "You must be having so much fun, everything's amazing," a biting critique that's easily interpreted as a slight to today's Instagram-obsessed, selfie-taking culture. And on the jangly "Crippling Self-Doubt and a General Lack of Confidence," passion-soaked paranoia comes to full fruition as she turns her gaze inward, confessing, "I don't know anything" and "I never feel as stupid as when I'm around you."

Indie rock as a celebrated genre has taken a back seat this decade to the chart domination of global pop, country and hip-hop stars. But Barnett is proof that it's far from dead. Her sound is a throwback to a time that existed not so long ago, when dirty, bluesy guitars and a rhythm section paired with clever lyrics was the sound du jour. And right now, she's the best thing indie rock has going for it, fast becoming one of the more interesting musicians documenting life in a hyper-self-aware society. —MIKE AYERS



Indie rocker Barnett gets introspective on her second solo album

# 8 Questions

**Lynn Nottage** The Pulitzer Prize–winning playwright on her new production, the browning of America and why she isn’t a journalist

**You wrote your first play when you were 8 years old. What was it about?**

It probably had a prince and a princess in it, and it probably involved my brother, who was my first actor. And it was probably greeted with robust applause because the audience was my parents and their friends.

**You worked as the national press officer for Amnesty International after graduate school. Did you ever consider working as a reporter?**

I did contemplate a career as a journalist. I worked part-time for the *Phoenix* [a since-closed community newspaper in Brooklyn]. They had a section, “Amusing Crimes Committed by People,” that I gathered from police logs. We all come to those forks in the road. I just loved making theater more than I loved covering stories on a day-to-day basis. There was something about the magic of theater that enticed me. I could remain in a place of infinite imagination. I felt very confined by journalism. There’s a part of me that always wanted to paint outside the lines.

**Your play *Sweat*, which is about a depressed factory town, documents the conditions that led to Donald Trump’s election. Did you expect him to win?** I don’t think any of us expected him to win. What didn’t surprise me was the level of dissatisfaction and anger. I knew that there was going to be some form of cultural upheaval. I didn’t know that it would come in the form of Donald Trump. I don’t think it’s entirely economic. I think it’s about the browning of America. Trump is the outward manifestation of white male panic.

***Mlima’s Tale*, your new play at the Public Theater in New York City, is about an elephant trapped in the international ivory trade. How did you become interested in animal rights?** I came to the story through

“TRUMP IS  
THE OUTWARD  
MANIFESTATION  
OF WHITE MALE  
PANIC”



Kathryn Bigelow [who made a short animated film on ivory poaching in 2014]. She wanted to do something more visceral than making a film, and I said, “Why don’t we do a piece of theater?” She sent me reams of research.

**Traditional proverbs are projected on the stage backdrop at different times during the play. How long have you been collecting those sayings?** They were very specifically researched for the play. It took some time to find the right sayings and the right proverbs. I see the play as being a distorted folktale, a cautionary tale. In African culture, there is a long tradition of teaching through folktales that have animals at the center.

**Do you have a favorite?** I like the one that begins and ends the play: “The thunder is not yet rain.” The thunder is forecasting the coming of the storm. When you hear the thunder in the distance, it gives you time to prepare.

**In addition to featuring a gripping story, the play mixes movement, color and music. How much of that was in the script?** We decided from its inception that *Mlima’s Tale* would be a collaborative piece, and we had a very open process. It’s the result of a very beautiful collaboration between artists.

**How far do you think society has come, and how far does it have to go?** In the last three years, there has been tremendous progress. There are storytellers like Shonda Rhimes and Ava DuVernay—these women have forcefully carved out a space for our voice. That said, there is a glass ceiling. There are places where we aren’t as welcome. Broadway is one of those places. There is still an uphill battle to get our names on the marquee.

—EBEN SHAPIRO



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